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THE HISTORY
OF THE
BUFFALO CREEK RESERVATION

BY FREDERICK HOUGHTON, M. S.

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THE HISTORY OF THE BUFFALO CREEK RESERVATION

By Frederick Houghton, M. S.

CHAPTER I.

THE RESERVATION.

The innumerable tourists who on summer days travel the excellent road which leads southward from Buffalo to Gowanda may view with delight the prosperous and beautiful farming country through which the road winds. Commodious houses, trim in their well painted orderliness, are flanked by huge and seemingly well filled barns, the sure index of their owner's prosperity. Swarthy, chattering Italians pick berries or peas in interminable rows. Mile long vineyards roll over the slopes of the low bordering hills, and southward the blue hills of Cattaraugus lift above the deepening valleys where cattle feed in deep grass. The whole picture is one of peace and plenty.

Yet without changing the character of the country the entire picture may be altered. Turn here at Lawton, pass the great milk station and the railway, and proceed along the fair country road. A short mile, and the well cared for pasture land ends abruptly at a wire fence. Beyond is swampy, uncultivated underbrush, in a slight clearing of which is a tiny, unpainted, dilapidated shanty. Just beyond is another from the open door of which peep two chubby, brown-faced children. On a slight rise is a well-kept log house with a peach tree in front, and op-

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posite is a wide open space bordered by a few straggling log houses all dominated by what looks like an old-fashioned school house. The whole effect is that of the frontier, and it is explained by the fact that this is Indian country, a Seneca village on the Cattaraugus Reservation, the center of the pagan party of the Seneca Nation.

With a few changes this is what would have been seen eighty years ago should visitors have left the main street of the thriving little city of Buffalo and gone but a few miles from the civilization of that ambitious settlement. Riding eastward on an indifferent road, they would have quickly passed beyond the outermost fringe of houses and would have reached the City line. At this point they would leave the road and plunge by a bridle-path into the swampy wilderness of the Buffalo Creek Reservation. The path would have wound casually amongst trees and shrubby clumps of undergrowth, past a few clearings centering about rough and unpainted frame houses or ill-kept log cabins, finally reaching a large building, the tribal council house, set in a wide clearing at the edge of Buffalo Creek. Fording the creek, they would pass numerous clearings and eventually would reach a group of houses set in wide fields and orchards, the village of Te-kise-na-da-yont, or as the Buffalo people knew it, the village of Seneca. In the midst they would find a commodious church with a weather-vane surmounting its steeple. They would undoubtedly visit the nearby cemetery to look at the graves of Red Jacket, the White Woman and other celebrities, and would call upon the resident missionary. Beyond would be forest, threaded by paths which linked the meagre clearings.

This anomaly of a wilderness broken by the clearings of a primitive Indian community, yet surrounded by the cleared fields and cultivated lands of white settlers, and jostling a rapidly growing commercial city, was the result of a rapid adjustment then in progress between the

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Iroquois Indians and the new and growing United States of America.

At the end of the American Revolution the whole of the country which constitutes the central and western parts of New York was a forest-covered wilderness dominated and claimed by the Six Nations of New York. Eastwardly their lands abutted upon the settlements along the Mohawk River. In the west, Fort Niagara had grown up as a French fort, but for a quarter of a century it had been occupied by English. Before the war the eastern and central portions of this great wilderness had hidden wide fields surrounding numerous Indian villages, but early in the war these had been destroyed by a colonial army, and their inhabitants had been constrained to abandon their homes and to retire westward to the Niagara River. Only part of these refugees had returned to rebuild their flimsy abodes. Most had preferred to make new homes in the vast forest which swept smoothly back from the Niagara. Of these refugees a large group, mainly composed of Senecas, had selected as a likely abode the valley of Buffalo Creek, and here they had established themselves in new settlements. These settlements formed the nucleus about which was to be crystallized the Buffalo Creek Reservation.

The soldiers of the colonial army which had invaded and devastated the lands of the Six Nations in 1779 had brought back to the coast colonies marvelous stories of the fertile and altogether delectable lands of central and western New York, and these had so excited the land hunger of the already crowded populations of the eastern colonies that at the close of the Revolution there was a rapid influx into this more western country. Through a series of transfers the Indians sold their lands, wisely reserving, however, sufficient to afford them homes and a livelihood. One of the tracts thus reserved was located about the refugee villages in the valley of Buffalo Creek,

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and this tract became the Buffalo Creek Reservation. Here for sixty years lived the main body of the Seneca Nation, amongst them their most prominent personages. Eventually the demand for their land became so insistent that the Senecas sold this reservation and once more removed, this time to settlements already established on the Cattaraugus and Allegheny, and the primitive conditions of their lands on the Buffalo Creek vanished like blown smoke before the inrush of white settlers.

The Buffalo Creek Reservation was a long rectangle of land lying fairly athwart what is now Erie County; one end based on Lake Erie, the other in what is now the eastern boundary of the county. The southern boundary ran straight east from a point at about the present Bay View. The northern boundary was intended to be parallel to this, but circumstances made it advisable to bend this as it approached the lake so that the mouth of the creek might not be in the hands of the Indians. This rectangle contained 83,557 acres of land, the most fertile and most delightful of all the lands of Erie County.

The Buffalo Creek Reservation was in general a flat plain tilted upward to the east. At its western end where it abutted upon the lake, its altitude was 573 feet, but eastwardly it rose gradually to the flat plains about Marilla until it attained a height of 325 feet above Lake Erie. This tilted plain is dissected by Buffalo Creek and by its main branches, Cazenovia Creek and Cayuga Creek. Its southern portion is cut by Smoke's Creek which enters it on its southern edge and continues in it to its mouth.

The topography of the Reservation was partly decided by the rock formations underlying it. These are mainly a long series of soft gray, and more obdurate black, shales, being portions of the lower beds of the Devonic system, interbedded with which are two rather insig-

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nificant beds of limestone. All these dip downward to the south and form a series of low and unimportant escarpments extending across the reservation from northeast to southwest. The valley of Buffalo Creek has been gouged out of the softer shales but where the streams feeding it have crossed the harder black shale there have been formed numerous steep-walled gorges and cliffs which diversify the otherwise flat and uninteresting country. At one or two points, also, the hard, black shale causes cascades which were taken advantage of by the incoming settlers for water power with which to drive the wheels of primitive grist- and saw-mills.

These rock formations have not decided the topography of the Reservation to the extent which might have been possible had they not been subjected to the action of the great glacier which at one time buried this region beneath hundreds of feet of ice. This glacial action, more than the rock formations, decided the general character of the region, its soil, its topography and its charmingly diversified landscape.

At some time, extremely remote as compared with history, yet comparatively recent from the geologist's point of view, all western New York, in common with all the northern part of the United States, was buried under an immensely thick and widely extended sheet of ice, a continental glacier of the type which now mantles Greenland. This ice centered somewhere about Hudson's Bay and because of constantly increasing cold, pressed southward until its front stood approximately at the present Pennsylvania line. Over Erie County the ice stood to a depth of perhaps two thousand feet, and the appearance of the country was that of middle Greenland today. At its southern edge the tops of a few of the Cattaraugus hills stood out above the snow-covered waste, but of our hills and valleys, lakes and rivers,

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nothing was visible. They were deeply buried beneath the crushing weight of the huge ice mass.

The tremendous weight of this mass of ice combined with a movement slow but constant, generated an immense erosive power. The bottom of the glacier came into contact with the soil and rocks of the ancient land, and these were torn from their beds, picked up by the ice and pushed or rolled or borne along by the advancing ice. Resistant rocks were scored deeply and polished by the abrasive action of the bottom of the ice, while on its surface rode huge boulders from the far away mountains of northern Canada.

After a long period of cold, the climate so moderated that the glacier melted more rapidly than it gained by precipitation, and slowly it dwindled away, with frequent pauses marking slightly colder seasons. At its receding front the included detritus with all the rock rubbish from all the ledges over which it had moved, dropped slowly down in the melting ice eventually coming to rest as a deep mantle over the old soil. Hills were covered, valleys were buried, river courses choked and obliterated. From the melting glacier sprang great rivers which instead of following the old and well-established drainage systems of the ancient land, reached the ocean by new and hitherto unknown channels. The ice lay across the natural slope of the land, and between the constantly receding ice wall and the emerging high lands to the southward of it great lakes formed and persisted for unnoted centuries. Water backed up into every ancient river valley forming long narrow lakes of the type now persisting in central New York. Many of the surface features of the Buffalo Creek Reservation are the result of this deposit of detritus, and of its consequent distribution by the icy waters of the melting glacier. All the rock beds are buried deeply by this detritus which forms

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the soil of our region. Imbedded in this soil are granite boulders which rode down upon the surface of the ice from their parent ledges in far away Canada. Across the southeastern edge of the Reservation lies a band of smoothly rolling knolls, a moraine marking the location of the front of the glacier at some pause in its recession. At several places there are long low clay hills, masses of compact blue clay and boulders, evidently ground moraines laid down under the glacier.

Originally the whole surface of the Reservation was covered by dense forest. Bordering the lake were wide, low swamps covered then as now by a dense growth of flags and swamp grass. Bordering this and encroaching upon the less swampy portions grew a wide belt of black ash. The banks of the creeks and the wide flats bordering them were thickly set with basswoods, the abundance of which along Buffalo Creek caused the Indians to name it Dyosowa, the place of basswood trees. The surface of the low plains above the creek flat was diversified by low, sandy knolls and shallow, swampy depressions. Here grew heavy stands of beech, maple, hickory and walnut, all dominated by the sombre pyramids of giant hemlock and pine. This primeval forest cover, even in the days of the Reservation, was rapidly being depleted, for the uplands were being denuded to supply the demand for building material for the growing city of Buffalo, while the bottoms were being cleared by Indian farmers to provide cultivated fields. Many of these clearings were soon abandoned and allowed to grow up to underbrush, yet the effect was that of deforestation. On both uplands and bottoms there were originally frequent natural clearings, grassy glades surrounded by the forest as by a wall.

Along the creeks, like beads upon a necklace, were strung the humble and, frequently, primitive abodes of

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the Indians. Most of these were solitary, set without order in locations which met the needs or convenience of their builders. Some of these homes were built of logs, a few still perhaps of bark after the ancient fashion, yet many were well constructed of sawn lumber identical in general appearance and internal convenience with the homes of the white people near them. Each house was set in its clearing, which according to its owner's thrift or ability, was large or small, well cultivated or neglected. In the cleared fields grew corn, which with abundant squashes and beans, formed the staple food of the people. Apple trees abounded, some, probably, scattered and wild, many however, set in well cared-for orchards.

In a few places the cabins with their clearings were set so closely together that the groups deserved the title of villages. In ancient fashion these groups had formed about some prominent personage as a nucleus. The village best known was that in which lived Red Jacket. In the early days this had been the seat of the Pagan party, but latterly missionaries had established themselves there, and had built a church, whose bell determined the Indian name for the village, Te-kise-na-do-yont, the place of the bell.

Of the inhabitants of these primitive abodes most were Senecas. Most of these were refugees and their descendants, driven from their long-established homes in the Genesee country by the avenging colonials. A few were probably descendants of families who had located here in far earlier times, colonists from the more eastern villages.

With these, but in separate groups, were two cognate nations, the Onondagas and Cayugas. In the exodus many of these had followed the Mohawks under their great leader, Joseph Brant, to the Grand River in Canada. Some however had thrown in their lot with the

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Senecas and had domiciled themselves along Buffalo Creek. A few also of alien blood were to be found, Stockbridges from Massachusetts, a few Delawares and a very few whites who for some reason had come to live amongst the Indians.

Cutting through the wilderness of woods were numerous paths, which connected the scattered cabins, and opened communication with other far-away communities. Some of these were transient and dim, paths only between fields and homes. Others were deeply marked trails, trodden and scored by generations of soft-shod aboriginal wayfarers.

These permanent trails led along the banks of all the water courses and eventually converged at the mouth of Buffalo Creek, where they joined the great main travelled way which followed the shore of Lake Erie to the west and continued along the banks of the Niagara to Lake Ontario. Another main path led off to the northeastward to the Tonawanda villages, eventually reaching another main trail at the bend of the Tonawanda Creek where now is Batavia. Just before reaching Batavia it joined another main road which led to Lewiston and Fort Niagara. There seems to have also been a main trail directly to the east eventually reaching the villages on the upper Genesee.

Where these paths crossed streams, they did so at shallow places, where fording was safe and practicable. One of these at the Seneca Council House was so deep that in high water it was unfordable, and a canoe must be used to cross. At the Onondaga Council House on Cazenovia Creek, the water was hardly ankle-deep.

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CHAPTER II.

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE BUFFALO CREEK RESERVATION.

To one interested in the peoples of past and gone times and their culture, the Buffalo Creek Valley offers in its archaeology a very interesting and varied field. All over its surface are to be found vestiges of an ancient and pre-historic people. Every sandy knoll, every creek terrace, will yield to the searcher its crude points of chert or its bits of pottery, showing that here abode some pre-historic Stone Age savage. While, as will be told later, some of these vestiges may be traced and attributed definitely to some distinct peoples, the identity of the users of many of them can never be known.

Although there are scattered over the surface of the reservation a vast number of artifacts of different kinds, and though any patient search over nearly any field on the reservation will yield a few flint points, there are certain restricted areas which yield, and have yielded for years, hundreds and even thousands of weapons, tools and utensils made and left there by the pre-historic occupants of the region. These restricted areas are further marked in some few cases by very deep deposits of a peculiar black, carbonaceous, ashy earth, and a few areas are still known to have been surrounded by earthen walls. These areas mark the site of large communities, all of which are well known locally as "Indian forts" or "Indian villages" and most have been searched by collectors for nearly a century. A few have been studied intensively for the purpose of gathering some information about their inhabitants. There are, besides these, cer-

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tain small areas upon which artifacts are fairly abundant, which may be called definitely the camping sites of wandering bands of people.

Of the restricted areas marked by the evidences of a large occupancy for many years, there are seven on the Buffalo Creek Reservation. The characteristics of these are all in the main identical excepting that some of them show the unmistakable evidence of contact with Europeans, whereas others show no evidence that the people who had once inhabited them had ever met these overseas foreigners. They are all marked by beds of black, ashly earth, the remains of what, in the time of their origin, would have been the refuse or garbage heaps of the primitive village. These beds in all cases are strewn promiscuously over the face of what was the village site, though in some few cases where the site was circumscribed partly by ravines, the refuse streams down the sides of the ravine and into the bottom of the stream-bed below. In some cases these black beds seem to mark the position of the cabins of the village.

This accumulation was composed of all the animal refuse of the village combined with the ashes of its fires. Into it was swept or thrown practically every article that was in use in the village, either in a broken condition and thrown away as useless, or lost by accident, and it is very astonishing to note the number of articles which these deposits yield. The surface of a refuse heap when under cultivation, shows on the surface of the site as a wide, black area plainly visible in plowed ground, especially after a rain, and more especially marked by the abundance of articles found on them. Of these articles, animal bones are probably at present most abundant. With these are chert points of various kinds, stone axes and chisels, potsherds and pipes in great variety, awls and fishhooks made of bone, chisels, gouges and hoes

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made of antler, and occasional ornaments of a somewhat limited variety. Many of these heaps have a superficial area of two hundred to a thousand square feet and a depth of two to four feet, and show evidence of the occupancy of this particular site for a relatively long period by a relatively large population; for in order to produce a mass of carbonaceous earth three feet thick and thirty feet square, there must have been originally laid down there a mass of refuse and garbage of much greater dimensions and this only could have been produced by a great number of people for a brief period or a smaller number of people for a long time.

Connected with these sites are the graves of the people who lived there. Not all the cemeteries of villages on the Buffalo Creek Reservation are yet known. Of those which are known, some of the graves are to be found directly within the area occupied by the houses of the village; in other villages they are some distance away, outside the palisades which at one time surrounded them.

The situation of these village sites is somewhat varied. At the western end of the Reservation, they are all on the low terraces above Buffalo or Cazenovia Creek. At the eastern end of the Reservation, in the town of Elma, they are uniformly so placed as to take advantage of strong, defensive positions, being in every case partially or very nearly surrounded by ravines or by steep terrace banks. In this latter case, the primary idea seems to have been ease of defense in conjunction with which were nearness to water and the presence of fertile land. In the former case, where the country was flatter and less adapted to natural defense, the primary idea seems to be only nearness to water and fertile fields. In every case, there was a disposition to retire inland from the lake and the river; and so far as is known, there was no Indian

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village of any size anywhere near the main thoroughfare furnished by the lake and the Niagara.

Known as they have been ever since the reservation was opened up to white settlement, these sites have been the subject of a great deal of archaeologic study. Some of the desultory collectors of Indian relics, who wandered over their surface after every rain or every cultivation, gleaned from the fields a great number of artifacts of Indian origin. There has been, however, on all the sites some detailed and systematic study, and it is from this study that we have gained the little that we know about them.

One site, that on Buffam Street, now the Seneca Indian Park, was rather carefully studied by the writer for the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences, one large and deep refuse heap being carefully excavated and the graves in its cemetery opened up. Similar work was also done on a site on the Eaton Farm in West Seneca and on two other sites at Elma. A site at the foot of Fenton Street in Buffalo was practically destroyed by excavation while grading a street and very few data were ever recovered as a result. One other site at Elma is still practically unexplored.

Of the seven pre-historic village sites known to exist in the Buffalo Creek Valley two show evidences that the inhabitants had had intercourse with Europeans. One of these is at the foot of Fenton Street in Buffalo, the other on the Hart Farm in West Seneca. On the surface of these sites, and in their graves, there have been found articles of European origin, brass kettles, iron axes, glass beads and mirrors, and various other articles such as constituted the stock in trade of early traders. All of these are of a type which are abundant on the sites of the great Seneca villages of Canagora and Totiakton of 1687, and they fairly represent the articles brought into

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the country by the English and Dutch traders of the late 17th century. Mingled with these are abundant artifacts of primitive Indian manufacture, indicating that these sites were inhabited at a time early enough to make the manufacture and use of these ancient types still necessary.

A careful study of the remaining five sites has shown no evidence that the inhabitants had ever had intercourse with Europeans, and so they may be safely ascribed to a pre-European time. Of these pre-historic and Stone Age villages, that at Seneca Indian Park on Buffam Street, Buffalo, has been so carefully studied that a description of its archaeology will serve for the rest.

The site now known as Seneca Indian Park was formerly known locally as the "Old Indian Burying Ground". During the Seneca occupation of the Reservation the site of the ancient pre-historic village was used by them as a cemetery and in it most of their prominent people were buried. In 1909 it was bought by Mr. John D. Larkin and deeded as a gift from himself and Mrs. Larkin to the City of Buffalo to be used as a park. It occupies a sandy terrace which conceals from view an outcrop of Stafford limestone.

The area of the ancient village embraced the present Seneca Indian Park and extends northward beyond it. The entire area when first known was surrounded by an earthen wall. This was surveyed and described by Mr. E. G. Squier in 1849.

The surface of the site was originally blackened by numerous large and deep refuse beds, most of which have been scattered and partly obliterated by continued cultivation. That portion which was set apart by the Senecas for a cemetery has never been cultivated and in it there are still a few undisturbed refuse heaps. A large heap in this portion of the site was carefully excavated

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by the writer and a large and very complete collection of artifacts was acquired. These are now on exhibition in the museum of the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences and give not only an intimate knowledge of the life of these pre-historic villagers, but serve as a type of articles found on these ancient sites.

The refuse heap lay on the inclined edge of a slight rise which runs across the entire site. Superficially it was approximately thirty feet long and thirty feet wide in the shape of an irregular ellipse. In cross-section it was lenticular, thickest on the median line where it attained a depth of almost four feet. From this it thinned out in all directions until its edges merged indefinitely with the original mold of the site.

This mass of earth was composed of layers and lenses of almost pure gray ashes alternating or merged with a peculiar black, greasy, carbonaceous earth. Below these layers was the mold of the original surface and scattered through them, embedded in both ashes and black earth, were numerous charred organic remains, charcoal, corn, beans and nuts, with bones of animals and human artifacts in great number and variety.

Of vegetable remains preserved by charring, corn was abundant and its large size and great quantity gave sufficient evidence of the agricultural skill of the villagers. Beans and squash seeds attested their dependence to some extent upon the "Three Great Ones." With these were nuts and wild fruits, acorns, hickorynuts and walnuts, and seeds of various berries.

Bones of animals were abundant. Literally bushels of these were intermingled with the refuse, earth and ashes, representing every animal used for food in the village. Bones of deer and bear were most numerous. Elk was represented together with wolf, dog and fox, wild-cat, raccoon, squirrel and rabbit. Bones of fishes of several

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species; of frogs and turtles; and the shells of fresh water mussels were abundant enough to show that the villagers derived much of their food from the nearby creeks and lake.

How the village hunters secured their animal food was shown by numerous implements. Of these by far the most abundant were arrow-points, of which over a hundred were found. These were all made of local chert, and all were tiny, keen, well-made triangles, of the type which is characteristic of all Iroquoian peoples. Not one point large enough to be considered a spear-or lance-head was found in the heap, nor one of the notched or tanged type. A few fishhooks neatly carved from flat bones showed at least one way of securing fishes, and a few large flat blades made of antler showed evidence that they had been used as hoes or spades.

Nearly as abundant as bones were potsherds, representing dozens of clay kettles of many different sizes. Some were fragments of vessels nearly as large as a bushel basket, others no larger than a small cup. Most were made of clay from local beds, tempered with silica in the form of powdered chert or granite. A few were made of different clay tempered with pulverized clam-shells. All were of the round bottomed type, well made, usually beautifully molded and frequently decorated with a band of lines impressed in the wet clay before burning. The decorative motive was usually, nearly always, the repeated triangle filled in with parallel lines, characteristic of Iroquoian pottery. Charred food still adhered to many fragments.

Implements used in manufacturing other articles were rather abundant. Most numerous were awls. These were beautifully fashioned of bone, and ranged in size from one the size of a fine needle to one nine inches long. These were used in sewing. A few knife-blades

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and scraper-blades made of chert showed how pelts were dressed and cut in making clothing. There were numerous cylinders carved of antler, tools for use in chipping points of chert.

There were comparatively few evidences of the amusements of the villagers. Two small flattened spheroids made of antler resemble the peach stones still used amongst the Senecas for gambling, and these were probably so used. Pipes were abundant. All were fashioned from clay, in the shapes common to the Iroquoian peoples. Personal adornments were few and crude. There were a few teeth and bones, perforated for suspension, which were doubtless worn as trophies. A few rude beads made of fresh-water mussel-shell were the only other ornaments.

On the crest of a sandy knoll a few hundred feet northeast of the area occupied by the village, was their cemetery. The graves had been hollowed out in the sand to a depth of two feet or more. The bodies were nearly all in the flexed position, typical of Indian burials, knees drawn up to the body, hands before the face. Most bodies lay on their sides without any special orientation. Two burials were of the type known as "bundle burials." In these the bones had been disarticulated, and tied in a bundle, the long bones parallel, the skull and pelvis at each end, a burial common amongst the Iroquoian peoples. Contrary to usual belief almost nothing had been buried with these bodies. Two small clay vessels, evidently originally filled with food, were found in two graves. This absence of articles in graves is typical of graves of Stone Age Iroquois, for the custom of burying with the dead their arms or ornaments seems to have been almost unknown amongst all the Iroquoian nations until after the coming of the Europeans. A few bones showed signs of sickness and accident, but none of death from wounds.

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The archaeology of the site shows it to have been inhabited by a relatively large sedentary community, who lived peaceably on the products derived from their fields of corn, beans and squashes, and from the forests about them, from the waters of the near-by streams and lakes, and from the wild animal life which filled the surrounding wastes. They had no intercourse with Europeans. Their hunters were armed with flint-tipped arrows. The women dismembered the kill with chert knives, scraped the hides with chert scrapers, made clothing therefrom with bone awl and sinew thread, and adorned it with rude ornaments.

Besides this site at Seneca Indian Park, four other sites are to be attributed to similar Stone Age Iroquoian communities, one in West Seneca, not far east of the Buffalo City Line, the other three centering about the hamlet of East Elma. The culture of all these, as shown by their archaeology, is identical with that at Seneca Indian Park. The site in West Seneca, on a shale bluff on the northern bank of Cazenovia Creek, is on land owned by Mr. Schaub and Mr. Eaton. Its refuse heaps are deep and numerous and their contents are identical in every detail with those found in the refuse at Seneca Park. Besides these abundant artifacts derived from the refuse, the surface of this site yields numerous notched points indicative of an occupation by some other, and non-Iroquoian, people. The sites at East Elma are on the flat tops of terraces which here border the eastern side of the valley of Buffalo Creek. All are placed in angles formed where deep ravines debouch into the valley. On all there is deep refuse earth, most of which streams down the steep ravine walls. All are of pure Iroquoian culture, and despite the presence of a very few European articles of a late type attributed to the Senecas who had villages here, all are of a pre-European period.

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In addition to these seven pre-historic village sites on the Buffalo Creek Reservation, there are three others just beyond its borders. Of these, one on the farm of Mr. Crookes at South Wales resembles in every detail that at Fenton Street, yielding from its refuse and graves the usual trade articles of the 17th century. It is an undefended site. Of the remaining two, both are post-European, yielding trade articles and abundant primitive artifacts of Iroquoian type with marked Neuter characteristics. These however do not resemble the artifacts from the other post-European villages, but have characteristics of their own. One site is in an angle made where a deep ravine enters the steep-walled gorge of Smoke's Creek in East Hamburg. The remaining site is three miles south of this at Orchard Park, on Smoke's Creek. It seems to be an earlier site of the preceding village. Nearly all its artifacts are of Stone Age, Iroquoian type, yet a few European articles have been found in its graves.

Of all the remains upon the Buffalo Creek Reservation the most conspicuous were the embankments, the walls of Indian forts. These were made of earth, ranging in height from a foot to four feet, and enclosing areas of various sizes and shapes. When the first white settlers began to clear their lands, they found numerous walls concealed by the undergrowth of the forest, but when this was removed the embankments stood out in bold relief upon the surface. Continued cultivation soon reduced these walls to the level of the surrounding fields, and now no embankment remains within the area comprised in the Buffalo Creek Reservation. Fortunately, before they were entirely destroyed, some, possibly all, were surveyed and described by Mr. E. G. Squier in 1849, and some were mentioned or described by others. The appearance and location of most are still remembered by residents of the localities in which they formerly existed.

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A few still exist not far from the reservation, two being especially well preserved, one at Shelby and one at Oakfield, and there are numerous well-preserved embankments at various places in the Genesee Valley, and crowning hills in Cattaraugus and Chatauqua counties.

Of the purpose of these embankments there can be no doubt. They are the bases of walls which surrounded and defended villages or camps. In nearly every case the soil of the enclosed area is strewn with the debris resulting from a prolonged occupancy. The defences would have been a palisade of logs or poles whose bases would have been sunk in the earth and which would have been strengthened by further heaping up earth about their bases. This earth was obtained by digging it from a ditch bordering the wall on the outside. The heap of earth thus produced would follow the line of the palisade and when through time or accident this was decayed or destroyed the heap of earth remained as a low wall.

Excavations on certain of these embankments have discovered the holes in which stood the logs of the palisade. These are now filled with mold but some when cleaned out have so far retained the shape of the base of the log that casts made from them as molds preserved the exact shape and details of the original log.

The use of palisades as defences was common to all Iroquoian nations and probably to all the sedentary Indians of the eastern United States. Many have been visited and described by Europeans while in use. A late example surrounded the Seneca village of Ganagaro when it was visited by LaSalle in 1669, and was described by his journalist, Father Galinée, as being "a lot of cabins surrounded with palisades of poles, 12 or 13 feet high, fastened together at the top and planted in the ground, with great piles of wood the height of a man behind these palisades."

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Besides the sites of villages where, from a very limited area, hundreds or even thousands of Indian artifacts may be gathered, there are certain areas where artifacts are fairly numerous. To be sure, arrow and spear points are to be found scattered promiscuously over the fields of nearly the entire area embraced in the Buffalo Creek Reservation, but in certain areas these are more numerous. A small area on a creek terrace may yield dozens of points and possibly an axe or a polished slate ornament; or a sandy knoll in a field may yield a handful of flint chips and broken points. Yet aside from these evidences of human activity, there are none of the refuse and ash-heaps or cemeteries which are so characteristic of great village sites, and the artifacts which are found on these small areas are radically different from those of the villages.

Numerous examples of these small sites occur everywhere on the reservations, but so similar are they that a detailed description of one will suffice for all.

Just south of the long east and west morainic hill which carries the Ridge Road in Lackawanna, is a tiny, unnamed brook, a tributary of Smoke's Creek. On a sandy knoll on the bank of this brook, is a site which is typical of these small camp sites. After any plowing, a walk across the knoll will reveal a few points, all of the large notched type, and occasionally with these are found slate gorgets and stone hatchets. Flint chips are abundant, showing that there at some time people had made arrow points of chert. One piece of pottery gives a rather definite clue to the people who once lived here. It is a large piece, thick, heavy, coarse-grained and evidently broken from a vessel of large size. Its surface is covered with cord markings of a type which is well known in the country to the south occupied by the Algonkian tribes of the Delaware stock. Beyond these few articles

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there is nothing to mark this as the abiding-place of people. No graves have been found, there are no burned areas suggesting ash beds, and there is no evidence of any refuse.

It is extremely difficult to attribute a site of this kind definitely to any nation of Indians now known to us. That they were pre-historic Stone Age people there is, of course, no doubt. None of these areas yields any objects which show the least influence by Europeans. That they are not of the Iroquoian stock is just as sure, for the points found on the sites are of a type absolutely different from those found on the areas marked by the refuse heaps of the great villages originating with Iroquoian people. That they were not abiding places of any large number of sedentary people for any length of time is certain, for any sedentary community established in one place for any length of time would leave indubitable marks of their occupancy in the shape of refuse and ashes, the accumulations of their cooking and of their fires.

Of these small sites it can be definitely said that they were the abiding places for a short time of small bands of pre-historic non-Iroquoian people. That these people were of Algonkian stock is almost certain, because the articles found are identical in every way with those found in indubitable Algonkian sites in Pennsylvania; and that these Algonkian people were wanderers from the south, seems probable.

In all probability these small sites marked the favorite camp-grounds for wandering bands of some Algonkian people who drifted about the country from one place to another searching out hunting grounds, fishing stations, or productive berry patches or sugar groves. They would be in all ways identical, excepting in mere primitiveness, with the Ojibways of today, who wander

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about the shores of Georgian Bay and the great wilderness south of Hudson Bay, hunting, trapping, fishing, blue-berry picking, establishing their frail, bark-covered conical wigwams for a time and then moving on to some other point as their fancy leads them.

But if this be true for these, who were the primitive folk, living out their days in the large villages hidden away in the forests which shadowed Buffalo Creek, and why were they thus immured in these forests?

The answer can be found only in their archaeology, when used to verify the meager information gleaned and noted by Jesuit missionaries in far-away Huronia. No historian wrote their simple annals. No trader, even, drew up his laden canoe at their gates and held aloft his gaudy beads or kettle of shining brass for their admiring inspection. Not even a black-robed priest or hardy far-faring explorer thrust aside the skin curtains of their smoky cabins.

Basing opinions upon the accounts of the Jesuit missionaries of the various nations inhabiting the Niagara Frontier, we might attribute the occupancy of these villages to some one or all of four nations, namely, the Neuters, the Wenroes, the Eries or the Senecas. An intensive study of the archaeology of these four nations and a determination of their characteristics have enabled the writer to determine with some degree of precision the occupants of these ancient villages.

There has been a tendency to ascribe these remains to the Neuter Nation, basing this upon the well-known history of the nation. As a matter of fact, no site on the Buffalo Creek Reservation can be attributed to these people.

When Champlain visited the Huron nation in 1615, he made every effort to acquire information about the nations which lay near the Huron country. For this in-

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formation he was obliged to rely upon his Huron hosts and it was from these that he, first of any European, received knowledge of the nation which he named the Neutral nation.

The real name of this nation is unknown. Champlain seems to have been unable to get it from the Hurons and gave to them merely the descriptive appellation, the "Nation Neutre," because he learned that in the incessant warfare which was then going on between the Hurons and the Iroquois Confederacy, this "Neutre Nation" took no part and not only maintained neutrality itself, but enforced neutrality between parties of the warring nations which met in its villages. The name was noted on maps based upon Champlain's explorations; and when the French missionaries began their work amongst the Hurons, they continued to use the name. The Hurons called these people Attiwandarons, another descriptive term meaning only "they speak differently" or "their speech is twisted," applied because although they spoke a dialect of the Iroquoian tongue and could readily be understood by either Hurons or Iroquois, enough difference in their speech existed to mark them as strangers. The same term could have been applied by Senecas to the Hurons or by Onondagas to the Andastes. On several maps they appear as Atiraguenrates or Atiragenriga, which seem to be mere variations of the term Attiwandarons.

When the Neutral Nations first became known to Europeans, they lived in that portion of Ontario limited on the west by the Detroit River, and on the south by Lake Erie. Eastwardly their lands crossed the Niagara and abutted upon those of an allied nation, the Wenroes. On the north they were hemmed in partly by Lake Ontario, though beyond its western end their lands reached northwardly to some unknown boundary which separated them

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from the Hurons and Tionontatis, both kindred nations.

The archaeology of this peninsula shows plainly that the Neuters when they first met Europeans were migrating rather slowly from west to east. All the numerous village sites west of the Grand River are of the pre-historic time, but nearly all east of that river show evidences in increasing abundance that their inhabitants had come into contact with Europeans.

The Neuters were numerous and sedentary although warlike. They numbered 12,000, living in 28 towns, when the first European visitor, Father Dallion, came amongst them. They lived in long communal houses made of bark. Surrounding their villages were fields of corn, beans, squashes, sunflowers from the seeds of which they made oil, and tobacco, which they sold to other less favored nations.

For a generation after Champlain's time the history of the Neutral Nation was well-known to the French missionaries, and these made frequent mention of them. The first European to pass through this country was undoubtedly Etienne Brulé, an employe of Samuel Champlain. In 1615 he was sent by Champlain with some Huron guides to enlist the aid of an allied nation, the Carantouans, who had their abodes on the upper reaches of the Susquehanna River. To reach them from Huronia he must pass through the Canadian peninsula, the country of the Neuters, but in his brief account to Champlain of his adventures he did not mention this nation.

Not for ten years thereafter was their country visited by a European. In 1625 Father Joseph de la Roche Dallion, a Recollect stationed in the new Huron mission, was assigned the task of visiting the Neuters and preparing the way for missionary effort. He spent nine months amongst them and seems to have approached the Niagara River. He wrote a very interesting account of the Neu-

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ters in a letter written at Tonachin in Huronia to a friend in France.[1]

Nothing further is recorded of them until 1638 when a war party brought in a great number of captives as a result of a raid against the Mascoutins. It seems possible that an Iroquoian site at the junction of the Illinois and Kankakee rivers may be ascribed to this or similar raids by the Neuters.

The following year, 1639, the Neuter villagers saw a weary procession of refugees, Wenroes, of an allied nation, as they plodded along the well-worn paths that led to the Huron country. These Wenroes were kin to the Neuters and had at one time been confederated with them. For some time previous to 1639 they had been harassed by war-parties of the Iroquois, probably the Senecas, and in that year they had finally abandoned their villages and fields and were passing through the Neuter country on their way to the Hurons, who had offered them sanctuary.

In 1640 the Neuter Nation was decided upon by the French missionaries in Huronia as a field of religious labor and two Jesuits, Fathers Brebeuf and Chaumonot, were assigned the task of carrying the cross thither. Their task was especially difficult, for the Hurons who for years had acted as middlemen in a brisk and profitable trade in French goods with the Neuters, were averse to any French action which might open up direct intercourse between the French and the Neuter market to their own loss. Accordingly the priests were preceded by propaganda artfully disseminated by the Hurons, with the purpose of antagonizing the Neuters and nullifying any efforts made by the priests.

In consequence of the Huron slanders, the Neuters received the priests as enemies, denied them food and shel-

[1] Le Clercq, *Establishment of the Faith in New France, I,* 263.

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ter and repeatedly threatened them with death. They finally allowed them, however, to visit a few villages where they were treated with the same distrustful, suspicious, sullen hostility. Eventually they were taken in by a Neuter woman who treated them kindly and endeavored to aid them in a study of the Neuter tongue, yet so intractable were the Neuters that the next spring the two priests abandoned the field and returned with the news of their lamentable failure to their brethren in Huronia.

During the years 1648 and 1649 the long war which for generations had been waged between the Hurons and their kindred, the Iroquois Confederacy of the Five Nations of New York, culminated in a series of raids into the Huron country by the full force of the Confederacy. So fierce and unexpected was the onslaught that the downfall of the Hurons was accomplished, and the remnants of the nation either surrendered to the Iroquois to be by these fierce clansmen transplanted to their New York villages, or fled into the wintry wastes of the east shore of Georgian Bay, there to be harried and annihilated by their terrible foes. During these troublous years the Neuters had contrived to maintain a strict neutrality between the two enemy nations.

The reasons for this neutrality, and how it was possible for the nation to maintain it, are problematical. When the Iroquois Confederacy was formed there is no doubt that the Neuters were a party to it. At least one of the personages, who, with Hiawatha and Dekanawideh, were most instrumental in promulgating the "Great Peace," the doctrine basic to the Confederacy, was the "Peace Queen" or "Peace Mother." She is mentioned repeatedly in the accounts of the formation of the League. There seems no reason to doubt tradition that this Peace

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Woman was a Neuter. Yet the Neuters did not join the League, nor were they mentioned in connection with it.

The reason why they were able to maintain neutrality seems to lie in the strength of the nation. Numerically they seem to have been the equals at least of the Hurons and to have exceeded the Iroquois, for in 1641 the Jesuits computed their population at 4,000 warriors, and this superiority may have secured for the nation a balance of power between the Hurons and Iroquois. This seems probable, for no sooner had the Iroquois destroyed the Hurons than they seem to have been freed to attack the Neuters.

Once settled upon by the Iroquois, the destruction of the Neuters went forward with startling and dramatic rapidity. The ostensible reason for an attack was a happening considered by the Senecas to be a breach of neutrality. In 1646 a Seneca war party had operated against the Tionontatis, who inhabited the region northwest of the Neuters. A Seneca warrior was detached from this party by a band of Hurons, who pursued him into the Neutral country. He sought sanctuary in the Neuter village of Aondirronon, but before he was able to enter it he was killed by his pursuers. Neither Hurons nor Neuters considered this a breach of neutrality, insomuch as neutrality was enforced only in the cabins of the Neuters. The Senecas, however, determined to avenge the death of their clansmen.

The next year a large party, mainly Senecas and Onondagas, set out for the Huron country to avenge the death of a prominent Onondaga chief who was a hostage amongst the Hurons. Unfortunately for their designs, the party met the chief returning and learned that the rumors of his death were unfounded. The Senecas of the party then decided to punish Aondirronon, and proceeded to the unsuspecting town. Arriving there the party

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was entertained in the usual Indian fashion, but in the midst of the entertainment the Senecas treacherously rose against their hosts and massacred many of them. Many more they drove away captive to their villages in New York.

Of the events immediately succeeding this treacherous act we know nothing. Seemingly peace was maintained through diplomacy for no hostilities are known to have taken place for some time, and the first intimation of war was reported by the missionaries in 1649, two years later.

Of the events of the war that followed we know little. The Jesuits, the usual news gatherers, had been forced to leave the Huron country and so were in no position to learn the details but those at the headquarters at Quebec learned in 1651 from Iroquois sources that in the fall of 1650 a party of 1500 Iroquois had destroyed a Neuter village, but that this party, having lost 200 of its warriors, had returned to their homes. Another party of 600 had at once left to avenge their loss. This party seems to have been successful, for the Jesuits reported late in 1651 that two towns had been taken with great slaughter, and that the Neutrals had abandoned their other villages and had scattered to avoid annihilation. Yet the following year these Neuters had received the aid of the Andastes and were enabled to invade the country of the Senecas and so terrorize them that the Seneca women fled for refuge to the Cayugas. The advantages of the Neuter-Andaste alliance were lost when the Mohawks were persuaded to make war upon the Andastes, thus to leave the Senecas free against the Neuters.

As a consequence of this war the Neuters abandoned their country and fled across the Detroit River, and in 1653 they joined the remnants of the Hurons and Tionontatis at Skenchio, on the shore of Lake Huron.

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Thus in four years the powerful Neuter nation became "a nation destroyed," its corn fields given over to wilderness growth, its populous villages burned, its people driven by fear into the remoter wildernesses. Yet not all of these perished. Many were taken to the home villages of the Iroquois where their blood soon mingled with that of their conquerors. The others seem to have joined the Huron fugitives and to have re-appeared a century later as the powerful Wyandottes.

It has been the quite general opinion of historians and archaeologists that to the Neuters must be attributed the village sites in the Buffalo Creek Valley. This is based partly upon the definite statement made by Father Lallemant, that "there are three of four [villages] beyond [the river] ranging from east to west towards the nation of the Cat or Eriechronons." Tradition seems to point to the site at Seneca Indian Park as one of the Neuter villages destroyed by the Senecas; but as a matter of fact, a study of the village sites of western New York and especially those in the valley of Buffalo Creek established definitely three facts. First, none of the sites in the Buffalo Creek Valley can be attributed to the Neuter Nation. Second, there is one site near the valley which can only be ascribed to the Neuters. Third, there is no evidence in or near the valley of any battle.

To establish these facts, it has been necessary to make a detailed and intensive study of the archaeology of village sites which are of undoubted Neutral origin, from which to obtain some standards for comparison. The village sites selected for this work have been the post-European group at Brantford, Ontario; the post-European group at Waterdown, Ontario; a site at Saint David's of post-European time, and several pre-European sites on the Grand river, and in the town of Bertie. A careful study of the artifacts derived from these sites

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elicited a number of facts regarding the culture which they show.

First, in general character the culture of the Neuters, as shown by their archaeology, was identical with that of the New York Iroquois and all other nations of Iroquoian family. They used almost exclusively the small, triangular arrow-points, for almost never are there points of notched or stemmed pattern found in undoubted Neuter refuse or graves. They made fine clay pottery which they decorated with the triangular or chevron type of ornament common to all of the northern Iroquoian nations. They made excellent clay pipes which, in shape and form, were identical with those of other members of the Iroquois family. They used wood, bark, bone and antler abundantly for their tools and utensils. They were sedentary people depending upon their farms rather than hunting for a livelihood and this is evidenced by the deep refuse beds and ash beds so characteristic of all of the Iroquois nations.

Second, certain differences occur between their culture and that of the other Iroquoian nations, which distinguish this as Neutral rather than Seneca or Erie. Like the other nations they used shell as material in making beads, pendants and similar adornments. But, unlike the others, they used large quantities of the shell of *Strombus,* the great conch-shell, which they imported from the Gulf of Mexico. Most Neutral sites will yield either articles made from this shell, or entire shells.

Many of their village sites, both pre-European and post-European, yield small flint blades like a flint scraper in shape, whose edges have been finely serrated. These are unknown on nearly all the sites of the other Iroquoian nations.

Although all Iroquoian sites yield small, short bone tubes, seemingly hollow bird bones, cut into sections an

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inch or more in length, most, probably all, Neutral sites yield large numbers of long bone tubes often five inches long and of a diameter up to three-fourths of an inch. Many of these are decorated with incised designs. The sites also yield antlers each perforated at a prong with a hole a half inch or thereabouts in diameter. These seem to be unknown on sites of the other Iorquois.

If we take as Neutral characteristics these four details, namely, conch-shell and its derivations, the serrated scraper-like saw, the large bone tubes and the perforated antlers, and by them judge the village sites of the Buffalo Creek valley, we find that not one possesses these marks, and we can safely assume that these are not of Neutral origin. On the other hand, sites in East Hamburg on the Yates farm, and the Ellis farm, previously mentioned, do show some or all these marks and they can safely be said to be of Neutral origin.

Beyond the borders of the reservation to the north there are certain other sites which show every characteristic of Neuter culture. Of these, the nearest is on the Niagara escarpment on the Tuscarora Reservation on the farm of Thomas Williams. This is locally known as Kienuka, meaning simply a fort. Connected with this is a tradition which has many curious aspects. It is supposed to have been the village in which lived the great "Peace Queen," and through her house which occupied the middle of that village ran the main road from the Seneca country westward across the Niagara River. Along this passed the war parties bound for the Huron and the Neuter country, and it was her function to maintain neutrality between the parties of warriors thus bound. According to the story, she maintained this neutral attitude for many years, but eventually she favored a party from the west who were at that time fighting against the Senecas. The Senecas, in revenge, destroyed

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her and her village. This seems to be a curious combination in one tradition of the neutrality maintained by the Neuter Nation, connected in this one village with the personage known as the Great Peace Queen. This woman appears again in the Seneca tradition of the origin of the Iroquoian Confederacy, for she was associated with the two founders of the Confederacy from the beginning.

Another undoubted Neuter village beyond the confines of the reservation was on the northern extremity of Grand Island. Both these villages are of rather late post-European times.

Of the numerous inhabitants of the territory included in the Buffalo Creek reservation, it is probable that before the coming of the Senecas, most belonged to the nation known to the French as the Ouenrorohnons or Wenroes. and in all probability all the pre-European sites on the reservation may be ascribed to this people. Historically, very little indeed is known of these Wenroes. No Europeans are known to have visited them, and their occupancy of western New York terminated in 1639 before even second-hand information regarding their villages here had been received by Europeans. They were first mentioned by Father Joseph de la Roche Dallion, a Recollect, who first of Europeans attempted a mission to the Neuter Nation. He visited the Neutral villages in 1626 and penetrated eastward seemingly as far as the Niagara River. There in a Neutral village he met men of this Wenro nation, who invited him to visit them, but immediately thereafter attempted to split his head, and stole his blanket and writing desk, his breviary and a bag of small articles.

After Father Dallion's somewhat disheartening experience, no mention was made of the Wenroes until 1635, when Father Brebeuf made a list of the Iroquois nations

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which seemed to him to offer a field for missionary effort. This list appears to have been derived from information given him by the Hurons. In the list is the name of this nation which he calls the Ahouenrochrhonons.

Events of which we know nothing, but which have to do with the severance of a loose alliance between the Neuters and these Wenroes, made them the first victims of the growing power of the Iroquois Confederacy. War with these ferocious and inimical kindred tribes culminated in the migration of the entire nation of Wenroes westward across the Niagara to the country of the Hurons and the Neuters. In 1639 the Jesuit missionaries chronicled the arrival in the Huron towns of miserable refugees, the remnants of this nation. Father Jerome Lalemant, writing from the mission in the Huron town of Ossossane, wrote: "The Wenrorohnons formed in the past one of the associate nations of the Neutre Nation and were located on its boundaries toward the Hiroquois, the common enemies of all these peoples. As long as this nation of the Wenroes was on good terms with the people of the Neuter Nation it was sufficiently strong to withstand its enemies, to continue its existence and maintain itself against their raids and invasions. But the people of the Neutre Nation having through I know not what dissatisfaction, withdrawn and severed their relations with them, these have remained a prey to their enemies and they could not have remained much longer without being entirely exterminated, if they had not resolved to retreat and take refuge in the protection and alliance of some other nation." After the usage of Iroquoian diplomacy, ambassadors of the Wenro nation appeared in the Huron council and in the name of their nation begged that it be adopted by the Huron Confederacy and that it might be allowed to migrate thither. This request was most welcome to the Hurons, for the strength of this new

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ally might be expected to offset in part the growing strength of their enemy kindred, the New York Iroquois, who were threatening to overwhelm the Huron Nation. After the deliberation necessary to a request of this nature, the Huron chiefs asquiesced and with their assent the Wenro ambassadors returned to their anxiously waiting people.

Upon receipt of this favorable reply the people of the villages abandoned their bark homes in the clearings along our creeks, converged by forest paths to some rendezvous, thence through the Neuter country across the Niagara and along the southern shore of Lake Ontario to its head. Here they were met by sympathetic Hurons who guided and accompanied them to the Huron town of Ossossane.

Of the nation thus seated in its new home, after its arduous journey of eighty leagues, there remained but 600 persons, most of whom were women and children. Their long march, combined with a terrible epidemic sickness which had broken out amongst them, had reduced them to such a pitiable condition that in the last stages of their journey the Hurons aided them with their burdens, assisted the weak and the suffering, and upon their arrival, gave up to them the best their villages afforded. The priests, also, busily ministered to them so effectively that these poor Wenro expatriates adopted the teaching of the priests, and many converts to the faith resulted. Of the sixty converts who received baptism at Ossossane that year, by far the most were of this nation. After a period of rest and recuperation, the people were distributed amongst the Huron towns, most remaining in Ossossane. A considerable number went to the Neuters and were assigned the village of Khioetoa, where later the priests established the mission, St. Michel. Of the character of these Wenroes, of their manner of life, the

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priests recorded very little. They excelled in drawing an arrow from the body and in curing the wound. They had some intercourse with Europeans, for Father Bressani, in speaking of the persecution of the priests by the Hurons, and of the opinions of the Hurons that the priests were sorcerers and that the epidemics which had swept the country were due to them, says that these opinions were corroborated by the "Oeronronnons who had formerly traded with the English, Dutch, and other heretical Europeans." These had told the Hurons that the priests were wicked people who had been compelled to leave their own land and that they had come to the Hurons to ruin them.

These meager historical facts do not suffice satisfactorily to locate this nation in the Buffalo Creek Valley. Even the few facts given are confusing and contradictory. It is only by studying these few facts in connection with the archaeologic remains of this area and comparing them with those of other territories that the location of this nation can be definitely assigned.

The descriptions by the Jesuit priests yield some few definite facts: First: The Wenro Nation formed one of the associate nations of the Neutral Nation. From this, one may infer that the nation was removed at a distance from the Neuter Nation, but that it had at some time been an integral part of it. Father Lalemant says distinctly that they are "A nation of the Neutral language" and formed one of the nations allied with the Neuter Nation. Second: It was located on the boundaries of the Neutral Nation toward the Iroquois. This is a very definite statement regardless of where the boundaries of the Neutral country lay. Toward the Iroquois from the Neuters was toward the east only. Third: Father Lalemant stated quite definitely the distance which these people had to travel to reach the country. He spoke of the

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very "painful voyage" of more than eighty leagues or 240 miles which they had to perform before reaching Ossossane, a village in the Huron country. The distance from the Huron village to the villages at Oakfield or at Elma scaled off in straight lines from the Georgian Bay to Hamilton, thence straight east across the Niagara River, is approximately 200 miles.

From these three facts one may infer that this nation lay to the eastward of the Niagara, somewhere about where Elma or Oakfield now are and that it was in close touch with the Neuters.

Two historical facts offer discrepancies. In the first list of Iroquoian nations in 1635, these Wenroes are listed after the Erie Nation. The other nations are listed more or less in order from east to west. In 1641 Father Lalemant wrote of them that they dwelt beyond the Erie of Cat Nation.

Basing his theory only on these two facts, George Donehoo, in a private letter to the writer, located these Wenroes on the western branch of the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania. This theory is, I believe, indefensible. In the first place, this mention was made in general, parenthetically, in connection with a different subject. Father Brébeuf's list was compiled from information derived from Hurons and not from personal knowledge and it was evidently both incomplete and inaccurate. But more important still is the fact that so far as known, there is no village site on the upper course of the western branch of the Susquehanna which might be ascribed to Wenro origin, and as the Wenroes were a sedentary people, any long occupancy of any site must inevitably leave marks characteristic of an Indian village.

On the other hand, in the valley of the Buffalo Creek, there do exist village sites which can only be ascribed to these Wenroes. They are the sites on Buffam Street

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in South Buffalo, on the Eaton farm in West Seneca and three sites grouped at East Elma. Besides these, there are at least two other sites, one at Shelby and one at Oakfield, which cannot be ascribed to any other people.

These are all pre-European sites or at least sites in which only a few evidences of European intercourse can be found. They are certainly of Iroquoian origin, for every characteristic is Iroquoian. They are certainly not Neuter, for they show none of the characteristics noted as being distinctively Neuter. Neither are they Seneca, for they have none of the marks which distinguish the early Seneca sites. They fit Lalemant's descriptions in that they are at about the distance noted, eighty leagues from the Huron country.

Without being absolutely certain, then, that the Buffalo Creek Valley was inhabited in early days by these Wenroes, every piece of evidence seems to favor this theory. It seems probable that they were offshoots of the Neuters, the advance bands in their northeastern extension and being too weak to stand against their formidable enemies were finally obliged, first, to pause in their eastward movement, and, finally, to abandon their advanced villages in a retrograde movement. These villages with their cornfields about them formed clearings in the wilderness which seem thereafter to have been occupied intermittently by their Seneca conquerors who eventually reoccupied them. They were undoubtedly the nucleus of the Buffalo Creek Reservation.

There has been a disposition on the part of a few collectors to consider these pre-historic village sites along Buffalo Creek as of Erie origin. There is absolutely no reason for this identification. The Erie Nation lay south of Lake Erie. Its most eastern village was at Ripley. Other villages are to be found along the shore of Lake Erie from Willoughby, Ohio, to Sandusky. The culture

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of these villages is Iroquoian, with enough individuality to mark it as Erian. These characteristics are not similar to those of the Buffalo Creek villages.

The post-European sites in the valley are without doubt of Seneca origin. All their characteristics are Senecan. They seem to have been colonies of Senecas which in the seventeeth century went out from the home villages to occupy the lands abandoned by the conquered peoples to the west of them. This expansion seems a natural consequence of their home conditions.

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CHAPTER III.

THE SENECAS ON BUFFALO CREEK BEFORE 1780.

By the middle of the 17th century the Iroquois had so far advanced in their domination of the neighboring nations that the region about the foot of Lake Erie had been entirely conquered and its inhabitants killed, scattered or assimilated by the nations of the Confederacy. The Wenroes had fled in a body to the unsafe refuge of the Huron Confederacy. The Neuters had been overcome and their scattered remnants were either banded together with other refugee victims of the Iroquois, or had been colonized amongst the villages of their conquerors. The country of the Erie Nation was over-run and the survivors of the fierce war which followed were merged with the Seneca Nation. Thus by 1655 the Iroquois Confederates had overwhelmed their neighboring kindred nations and had allowed the wilderness to swallow up their meager and isolated clearings.

The country thus desolated seems to have attracted settlers from the Seneca Nation almost immediately. It was natural that this should be so. The forests provided them with peltry, the only medium of trade with the now indispensable European trader, and to obtain this peltry hunting parties were constrained to leave their relatively populous and exhausted home territory and search out other and richer sources of supply. This necessitated long absences from their home villages; and because they were inherently a village people, it also made inevitable the establishment of colonies, far-flung, tiny villages to be used as bases for the hunting parties.

It was but natural also that in selecting sites for their

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villages they should have utilized the already existing clearings made by their predecessors rather than to undertake the long and difficult work of clearing new sites. Therefore they established themselves upon the sites of Neuter or Wenro villages or on nearby and previously cleared lands.

As early as 1669, only seventeen years after the expulsion of the Neuters, a Seneca town had sprung up in their country, near the head of Lake Ontario, known and described by La Salle as Otinawatawa. In his later exploration he met a large party of Senecas from a village at or near Lewiston or Youngstown. At some time equally early a small village of Senecas existed on a terrace of Cazenovia Creek on the Hart farm in West Seneca; and seemingly at about the same time another small village sprang up in the wilderness on a similar terrace farther up the creek at South Wales. A somewhat larger band of colonists selected for a site a terrace on Cattaraugus Creek on the present Silverheels farm. The archaeology of these is so nearly identical what that of the great towns of Canagora and Totiakton in the home land of the Senecas that there is no reason to doubt that these were contemporaneous, and that these villages were inhabited by colonists from these great towns at some time between 1660 and 1690. What seems to have been a somewhat later village of Senecas crowned the terrace of Buffalo Creek at the foot of the present Fenton Street, Buffalo, yet even this can hardly have been later than 1700.

During the years of the French domination of the Niagara Frontier, Seneca colonists settled themselves in several villages there. One served as a home for the porters who were hired by the French to convey goods over the portage around the Falls. This was on the river bank above Lewiston just at the foot of the rapids where

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a small stream has cut a deep gully down to the water's edge. Two other villages were noted by Pouchot on his map of 1759, as being on the main path between the Niagara and the Genesee, probably in the Tonawanda valley. Another was noted on the Cattaraugus. Subsequent events seem to show that some of these persisted after the English conquest. The Lewiston village would probably have been destroyed when the *"Magazin Royal"* which was its reason for being, was burned in 1759. The Cattaraugus village seems to have been the home of a party of Senecas who in 1763 fought the crew of the English bark *Beaver* which was wrecked on the shoals at the mouth of "Catfish Creek"—either Cattaraugus or Eighteen-Mile Creek. The survivors had reached the beach and had erected a palisade for protection. They were attacked by twenty-five or thirty Senecas who finally were driven off.

Because of this long though desultory occupancy of the region about the foot of Lake Erie it seemed inevitable that when the Iroquois were forced in 1779 to relinquish their long-occupied homes in middle New York they would immediately cast upon the valleys of the Buffalo, Tonawanda and Cattaraugus creeks as places suitable for new homes. These valleys were familiar to many of them and the clearings and villages already existing presented themselves logically as nuclei for new settlements. And, of all the Iroquois, it was most natural that the Seneca Nation should re-occupy these villages.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE SENECA NATION.

The Seneca Indians who were chief in the conquest of the region about the Niagara Frontier and who still retain lands here are members of the Iroquoian family of Indians, which because of their intelligence, ferocity and statecraft, were at one time the most powerful to be found anywhere in North America. Of this great family the most important member in many ways was the Seneca Nation.

The Iroquoian family in its prime included the Five Iroquois Nations of New York, the Huron Confederacy of tribes, the Neuter Nation, the Andastes, the Eries, the Wenroes and the Tionontadis in the north; and the Cherokee Confederacy, the Tuscaroras and the Nanticokes in the south. All these nations spoke dialects of a common language, and were charaterized by a culture which was similar, even amongst the most remote members.

The region occupied by this family was of great extent, and, with a few breaks, was continuous. When the Europeans met them their territory extended from the lower reaches of the St. Lawrence westward to Lake Huron, and southward following the valley of the Susquehanna to Chesapeake Bay. Beyond the territory of the Virginia Algonkians lay another region inhabited by Iroquoian peoples, reaching from North Carolina west and south to Georgia. Contiguous to their territory on the east were sedentary Algonkian nations. On the north lay the great wastes of Canadian forest through which roamed miserable Algonkian nomads. Westwardly lay vast regions which supported many tribes of several families. At

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the extreme south was the Muskogee family. In the two centuries following their first meeting with Europeans on the St. Lawrence they extended their territory until it reached from the remotest wilds of the north to Georgia, and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. Fierce, arrogant and intractable always, its members dominated or exterminated their neighbors, and grimly have they held to their own.

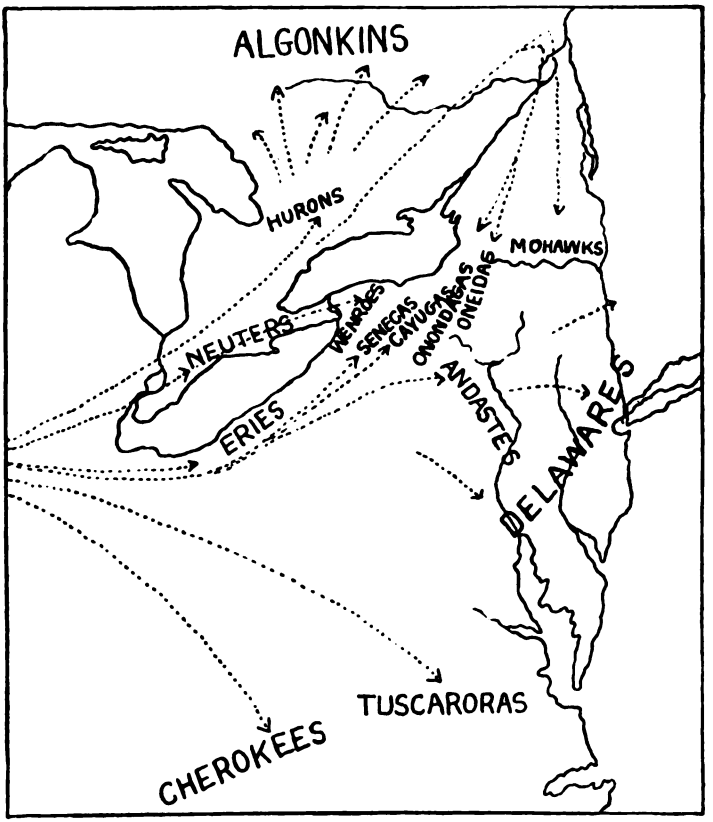

Diagram showing the probable movements by which the pre-historic Iroquoian nations entered their historic seats.

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Of all the members of this powerful family, the Five Nations of New York exerted the most influence. When they first became known to the Europeans they were banded together in a confederacy known as the Ho-de-no-sau-nee, literally the "People of the Long House," whose eastern door was in the land of the Mohawks, and whose western door was guarded by the Senecas. In the center of the symbolical cabin was the council-fire, kindled by the Onondaga Nation, on each side of which reposed the younger members of the family, the Oneidas and the Cayugas.

This Confederacy was no loose or temporary union. On the contrary its members were firmly knit together by every bond of consanguinity, clan affiliations and personal and national advantage; and further, it was based upon a code of laws common to, and binding upon, all its members. This code was known amongst its members as the "Great Peace," and tradition has it that this "Great Peace" and the resulting confederacy were the work of a Mohawk, Hayonthwatha (Hiawatha), and a Huron, Dekanawideh, aided by a Neuter woman, the "Peace Woman," and later by an Onondaga, Atotarho. The formation of the confederacy antedated the advent of Europeans, though probably by less than a century, and it has persisted until the present day, for even as this is being written the Senecas on Cattaraugus Creek are preparing an elaborate welcome for delegates from the Confederacy.

The condition most powerfully influencing Hiawatha in his efforts to form this Confederacy was an incessant intertribal warfare; and his code of the "Great Peace" expressly bound the five confederated nations to perpetual peace amongst themselves, and to such warfare conducted against those not joining the Confederacy as would ensure peace to the confederates. This policy, car-

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ried out faithfully and with pitiless severity by the warlike confederates, resulted in the extermination, first of their own kindred nations who had refused to enter the League, then of more remote and alien tribes.

Of the five original confederated nations, the Senecas from the first were the fiercest, most powerful and most intractable. They were last to join the Confederacy and then only after important concessions. They were symbolically the "Great Black Door through which came all good and evil news." Only they could bring before the council of nations any business needing attention. They guarded the western door of the Long House and so were entitled to a war chief of the Confederacy. Remote almost to inaccessibility from the influx of Europeans, these they treated mainly with haughtiness and arrogance. In the incessant forays against enemies, the Senecas were always conspicuous.

The name "Seneca," as applied to this western member of the Iroquois Confederacy, was originally a misnomer, yet it has been the name used for this nation by English-speaking people since their first intercourse with them and has been adopted by the nation as their official designation. The reason for this appellation is interesting.

The name "Seneca" was the term applied by the Algonkian nations seated on Hudson River to all the nations of the Iroquois Confederacy except the most eastern member. This latter, known to themselves as the Agniehronnons, "People of the Flint," were called by their Algonkian neighbors, Maquas or Bears, probably from one of their conspicuous clans. Thus all the confederated Iroquois were divided by the Algonkians into two nations, the Maquas, (Mahaquas, Mohawks) and the Senecas. The first Dutch traders on the Hudson River received these two names from the Algonkians there, as thus applied, and used it in their intercourse with both nations.

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In 1614 (or 1613) one of these traders, one Kleynties, following the policy of his employers, the Dutch West India Company, set out from Fort Nassau on the Hudson to explore to the west and southwest. His guides led him to the headwaters of the Susquehanna, which he followed southward. At some point on this river he was captured by Minquas in whose company he finally reached the seaboard at Delaware Bay. There he was ransomed by Captain Hendrickson, who was just then exploring the east coast. The information derived from his travels was used on two maps, made for the West India Company for a report to the States General on the explorations.

On the map he located the Maquas on their river and showed quite accurately almost the whole length of the Susquehanna. West of the Maquas and north of Lake Otsego he located the "Senecas," using this name first of Europeans.

It was not until 1634, twenty years later, that these "Senecas" of the Algonkians were properly designated. In that year Arent Van Curler pushed beyond the Maquas and visited a people west of them. These he called "Sinnekins," to whom he also applied their proper Iroquoian appellation, Enneyuttehage. These were the people whom we call Oneidas, who were seated exactly where the "Senecas" of Kleynties were located on his map. In the Oneida villages Van Curler also met other Iroquois "Sinnekins" whom he distinguished by their proper Iroquoian name, Onnondagas.

After Van Curler's segregation of the two terms Oneida and Onondaga from the general term "Sinnekin," the Dutch use of the name became restricted to the two more remote nations of the Confederacy. Eventually the Goyouguens became known by their proper Iroquoian name, which has come to us as "Cayuga," leaving only

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the most remote nation still denoted by the Algonkian term "Seneca." This persisted until the English took over the Dutch colony and they continued the use of the term.

The Iroquoian appellation of the nation thus labeled with the alien name of Seneca, was "Djiionondowanen," meaning "the people of the great mountain." The Seneca traditions of their origin include their explanation of this term. "The tradition of the Seneca Indians, in regard to their origin, is that they broke out of the earth from a large mountain at the head of Canandaigua Lake, and that mountain they still venerate as the place of their birth. Thence they derived their name, 'Ge-nun-de-wah' or 'Great Hill,' and are called 'the Great Hill People,' which is the true definition of the word 'Seneca.'"

The reference seems, however, to be not so much to a hill at the head of Canandaigua Lake, as to the fact that the people were hill people, mountaineers, and this sense is preserved in the language of the Delawares, an Algonkian people, who knew them as "Maechiachtinni," meaning "great mountain people." It seems reasonable to suppose that both these names referred to their early custom of locating their towns on the summits of high hills.

When the Senecas first came into contact with Europeans, they lived in a few towns in the delectable region between Canandaigua Lake and the Genesee River, and their occupancy of this was of long duration, so much so that they had a tradition that they originated there.

This tradition has reached us through a medium which may be considered authoritative, for it was recorded as it was told by Mary Jemison, a white woman, who since childhood had lived amongst the Senecas. Her version of the tradition follows:

The tradition of the Seneca Indians in regard to their origin

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is that they broke out of the earth from a large mountain at the head of Canandaigua Lake; and that mountain they still venerate as the place of their birth. Thence they derive their name, "Ge-nun-de-wah," or "Great Hill," and are called "The Great Hill People," which is the true definition of the word "Seneca."

The great hill at the head of Canandaigua Lake, from whence they sprung, is called Genundewah, and has for a long time past been the place where the Indians of that nation have met in council to hold great talks and to offer up prayers to the Great Spirit on account of its having been their birth-place, and, also, in consequence of the destruction of a serpent at that place in ancient time in a most miraculous manner, which threatened the destruction of the whole of the Senecas and barely spared enough to commence replenishing the earth.

The Indians say that the fort on the big hill or Ge-nun-de-wah, near the head of Canandaigua Lake, was surrounded by a monstrous serpent whose head and tail came together at the gate. A long time it lay there, confounding the people with its breath. At length they attempted to make their escape; some with their hominy-blocks, and others with different implements of household furniture; and in marching out of the fort walked down the throat of the serpent. Two orphan children who had escaped this general destruction by being left on this side of the fort were informed by an oracle of the means by which they could get rid of their formidable enemy, which was, to take a small bow and a poisoned arrow, made of a kind of willow, and with that shoot the serpent under its scales. This they did, and the arrow proved effectual; for, on penterating the skin the serpent became sick and extending itself, rolled down the hill destroying all the timber that was in its way, disgorging itself, and breaking wind greatly as it went. At every motion a human head was discharged and rolled down the hill into the lake where they lie at this day in a petrified state, having the hardness and appearance of stones; and the Pagan Indians of the Senecas believe that all the little snakes were made of the blood of the great serpent after it rolled into the lake.

To this day the Indians visit that sacred place to mourn the loss of their friends and to celebrate some rites that are peculiar to themselves. To the knowledge of white people there has been no timber on the great hill since it was first discovered by them, though it lay apparently in a state of nature for a great

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number of years without cultivation. Stones in the shape of Indians' heads may be seen lying in the lake in great plenty, which are said to be the same that were deposited there at the death of the serpent.

The Senecas have a tradition that previous to and for some time after their origin at Genundewah the country, especially about the lakes, was thickly inhabited by a race of civil, enterprising and industrious people who were totally destroyed by the great serpent that afterwards surrounded the hill fort, with the assistance of others of the same species; and that they (the Senecas) went into possession of the improvements that were left.

In those days the Indians throughout the whole country—as the Senecas say—spoke one language; but having become considerably numerous, the before-mentioned great serpent, by an unknown influence, confounded their language so that they could not understand each other; which was the cause of their division into nations—as the Mohawks, Oneidas, etc. At that time, however, the Senecas retained the original language and continued to occupy their mother hill on which they fortified themselves against their enemies, and lived peaceably until having offended the serpent, they were cut off as I have before remarked.

There are three very distinct traditions here. First, there is a tradition to account for the name, localized at Canandaigua Lake. Second, there is the serpent story. This is not confined to the Seneca branch of the Iroquoian family. It occurs also in almost identical form amongst the Wyandottes of Kansas. Third, there is the story that the Senecas were preceded by other people. This refers to their irruption into central New York from which they ousted an Algonkian people identical with or similar to the Delawares.

Although it is entirely possible that there is some truth in the tradition of their origin and it may refer to the merging here of two bands into one nation, there is no doubt that the Senecas were not autochthonous in that region, but migrated to it from some point to the westward. A very careful and intensive study of the sites

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of their villages beginning with those described by French visitors in the 17th century, and tracing them backward in time into their Stone Age, make it certain that they entered the Genesee Valley at a point near Wellsville, and that a series of sites, which can only be ascribed to early Senecas, can be traced along the crests of hills as far west as Cassadaga. As far as this point, all the characteristics of the site are those common to the Senecas of the Genesee Valley. Their migration eastward along the route marked by these sites seems to have been through hostile country, for every site is fortified and is placed on the crest of the highest hill in its neighborhood.

Basing opinion upon the carefully studied archaeology of the Senecas, their earliest history may be said to begin when a band of Iroquoian people separated from their main stock at some point south of Lake Erie. This band may be thought of as pushing eastward into territory of hostile Algonkian people who occupied the Allegheny Valley. As a protection from these enemies they chose for homes the tops of high hills, and fortified themselves with palisades. Eventually this migration brought them athwart the Genesee Valley down which they progressed. Still they chose hill tops for their towns, and moved slowly northward into the region between Hemlock Lake and Canandaigua Lake. At about this time they entered the Confederacy, and shortly after they began to receive a few articles of European origin. Their last Stone Age villages are at Allen's Hill, Richmond Mills and Bristol. Their first post-European site is on the Tram farm, south of Lima.

Owing to the remoteness of the Seneca villages, no white persons visited them for nearly a generation after they first met Europeans. Not until 1657 did a white man penetrate to the Seneca country. In that year Chaumonot reconnoitered the country preliminary to the

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establishment there of a mission, but only after a lapse of eleven years did the pioneer missionary, Father Fremin, reach his station. This mission continued for sixteen years, with slight success, in the face of the most discouraging reception. Intractable in all things, the Senecas were doubly so in religious matters and never were receptive to Christian endeavor.

In 1669 the Senecas met for the first time Robert Cavelier de la Salle, who came to their villages in search of a guide to the Ohio River. Ten years later he made them a second visit, this time to beg permission to build a boat in the Niagara and a fort at the mouth of the river. It is characteristic of the Senecas that they refused the guide and were far from gracious in permitting the building.

The Senecas were always hostile to the French, although there were times when it seemed politic to favor them. Once their hostility threatened to bring calamity. In 1683 they seized on some traders' goods, the private property of the then governor of New France, La Barre, who was far from being above doing a little illicit trading for himself. Furious at their temerity, he made extensive preparations to punish them. The Senecas were highly incensed and bent on war, but the expedition failed miserably and after a humiliating experience in council the French governor withdrew to Quebec.

Far more serious were the consequences of a punitive expedition launched against them in 1687 by Governor de Denonville. No sooner had he reached his province than he made preparations to punish the Senecas for their continued hostility toward the Canadians and their Indian allies, and through a show of force to demonstrate to them the desirability of allying themselves with France. So secretly did he prepare his blow that not until his army was actually disembarking in the Seneca

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country did the Senecas know of his intent. In an effort to check his army, the Senecas ambushed the French forces a few miles from their largest town but they were overpowered and driven off. The French burned all their towns, destroyed their standing corn, then nearly ripe, and withdrew, leaving behind a desolated country and an infuriated people.

This terrible calamity was the direct cause of another migration. For the two generations preceding, the villages had been drifting slowly northward down the Bristol Valley and the Honeoye outlet. Now they turned back, the two eastern communities, seemingly, to the eastward, where eventually they made settlements at Canandaigua, Geneva and the region between Seneca and Canandaigua Lakes; and the two western communities to the west, settling along the Genesee River.

For nearly a century after Denonville's hand fell upon the Seneca Nation, the Senecas lived, for them, a fairly peaceful life. To be sure, war parties were out much of the time and their arms were carried far away to remote tribes. Their relations with the English continued as they had always been, friendly, and with the French as a whole, as they had always been, hostile. During these three generations, the eastern villages extended southward as far as Elmira, and at the same time the western branch extended up the Genesee Valley as far as Caneadea, and thence over the divide into the Allegheny Valley. At about this time or even before, colonies had established themselves in the desolated country of the Neuters and Wenroes, on Buffalo and Tonawanda Creeks, and also on Cattaraugus Creek.

Meanwhile events were pending which unknown to the Senecas threatened their national existence. France, their ancient foe, had finally been divested of her possessions by the English, who had been from the beginning

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on friendly terms with the Iroquois. When, after the French wars, the American colonists separated themselves from the Government of Great Britain, the Iroquois mainly adhered to their ancient allegiance and threw in their forces on the side of England. Mainly, for the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, the latter members of the Confederacy by adoption, remained partly at least, neutral in a quarrel which was of no interest to them, and for a time it seemed that the Long House was to be divided. The Senecas, especially, actively took part in the war and did yeoman service for their allies.

The policy of the English Government was to engage these Indians in forays against the outlying frontier towns of the middle colonies, in an effort to divert American forces from service against the English armies. As a result of this policy, war parties of Senecas and others, under English leaders and supplemented by English troops, harried the frontiers and desolated the outlying villages and farmsteads. Alarm and terror gave place on the frontiers to exasperation and fury. Congress in 1779 decided to punish these raiders, and if possible to overwhelm them so that there could be no repetition of the horrors of border warfare. Three punitive expeditions were planned and carried out. One under Colonel Brodhead proceeded up the Allegheny River and destroyed the Seneca towns located there. General John Sullivan crossed overland from the Delaware River to the Susquehanna and proceeded up this river to the forks, where he met a third force under Clinton. This left Albany and proceeded to the headwaters of the Susquehanna, thence down that stream to the rendezvous with Sullivan, destroying as they came the towns of the hostile Tuscaroras and others in the upper valley. The united forces proceeded up the Chemung, defeated a large party of English and Indians in a well-chosen ambush below El-

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mira, and burned the Seneca towns at and near Elmira. Thence they drove straight into the heart of the unknown Seneca country. Northward and westward they marched steadily, destroying town after town, and giving ample time to the task of ravaging the wide fields of corn which surrounded them. With little opposition they reached the Genesee river, where was Chenussio, the great town of the Senecas. Having destroyed this, the colonials withdrew, taking on their way the hitherto untouched towns of the Cayugas, and leaving behind a desolated land and a homeless and starving people. This triumphal withdrawal marks the beginning of the history of the Buffalo Creek Reservation.

The effect of General Sullivan's expedition into the Seneca country was far-reaching. It had been planned to secure one result, the prevention of further border warfare, such as had terrorized the frontiers since the beginning of the war. This it only partly achieved, for although no large or concerted action took place thereafter against the frontiers, forays were of frequent occurrence. One of its objects had not been attained. Fort Niagara, then the English base for war parties, headquarters of those English officers having in charge the warfare upon the frontiers of New York and Pennsylvania, was to have been attacked and captured. The lateness of the season, the remoteness of the post and the difficulties of transportation, had prevented the colonists from investing it.

Upon the Senecas and indeed upon the whole Confederacy it had a most startling effect. The Senecas especially had always considered themselves unconquerable. Generations of active war-fare, almost uniformly successful operations against foes, both red and white, had made them arrogant, haughty and over-confident of their abilities. The remoteness and inaccessibility of their towns made for the utmost security. Their allies, the English,

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had always supported them consistently and had supplied them in abundance with the munitions of war. Only once had their territory been invaded, and this invasion had been redly avenged. Besides, the English had assured them that this colonial force could never win its way into their lands. Yet slowly and deliberately it had won its way, their towns lay in ashes, their orchards were hacked down, the crops upon which they must depend were utterly ruined, and the people faced starvation. They were as a "nation destroyed." Gone was their arrogance, gone their supreme self-confidence. Amazement gave way to terror, this to blind panic, to be followed by sullen but resigned anger. Their confidence in the English was lost, moreover, never to be regained, and in its place was a strong and growing respect for those who had been powerful enough to overthrow them. That this respect was not superficial or forced is shown by the fact that George Washington, "The Destroyer of Towns," is the only white man allowed by the Seneca "New Religion" to approach the Indian Heaven.

A very important result of this campaign was that it gave the Iroquois the status of a conquered nation, and most of the land changes following the Revolution were consequent upon their being a conquered nation.

As the colonials penetrated deeper and deeper into the Seneca country they found their villages deserted, for the inhabitants fled in panic before them. Many of the non-combatants sought out inaccessible hiding-places in the forests about them. Mary Jemison describes the panic-striken flight of Senecas from the Genesee towns and their refuge in the Tonawanda Valley at Varysburg. Many of the warriors repaired to Fort Niagara, their headquarters. Immediately after the colonials had withdrawn, and as soon as safety seemed assured, all these refugees returned to their villages, only to find ruin and

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desolation. Of all the populous Seneca towns, but four remained. Much more serious was the probable food shortage, for although the crops about these four villages still remained, and although numerous crops in the lower Genesee Valley had remained undisturbed, there still was insufficient food to maintain the population until the next harvest. Nor could they as in times past depend upon the food of their confederates. All suffered alike.

Some of the Senecas elected to remain in their ruined villages. Many, however, flocked to Fort Niagara, where they were joined by refugees from the other nations. Here they passed a winter most terrible in its severity, living upon such scanty game as their hunters could secure in the snow-packed forests, on chance-found offal or carrion, and on the provisions doled out by the English commandant, Colonel Bolton, and by Colonel Johnson, the Indian agent. Immediately following the campaign Colonel Bolton reported that he was supplying 5036 with provisions. This influx of refugees gave the commandant no little concern. The lateness of the season made it impossible to receive additional supplies from Montreal or Quebec. Their own supply was limited. Yet this homeless, starving, dispirited multitude must be fed and cared for. Various plans of relief were tried during the winter. The refugees were urged to go to Montreal where they could easily be cared for. Those whose homes in the valleys of the Genesee, the Cattaraugus, and the upper Allegheny had escaped the careful search of the colonists, were urged to return and garner any of their crops still remaining, thus in a two-fold way to relieve the congestion at the Fort. The warriors were organized into war parties to operate against the border towns, thus drawing away from the Fort numerous hungry mouths.

These plans, any of which would have relieved the serious conditions at the Fort, were but fairly successful.

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The terrorized refugees flatly refused to go to Montreal, and so thoroughly was their spirit broken that few could be induced to return to their abandoned homes. So severe was the winter and so deep the snow that war parties could not operate until late in the season. As a consequence the Fort was the base of supplies for a disorganized mob of refugees, 3,000 in number, who during that terrible winter dotted the plain about the Fort with their flimsy, nondescript cabins, and roamed the snow-covered wastes in search of anything which might appease their hunger.

As soon as the winter was broken up these starving bands scattered in search of localities likely to produce food for their subsistence. Many followed Joseph Brant, the Mohawk leader, to the Grand River in Canada. The Tuscaroras cast upon the crest of the "Mountain Ridge" above Lewiston as a likely abode. Many prominent Senecas, amongst them Sayenqueraghta, their war chief, and Rowland Montour, a prominent half-breed, selected lands in the fertile bottoms of Buffalo Creek, and to them eventually came a large band made up of Cayugas and Onondagas, refugees all.

These miserable settlers in the basswood thickets of the Buffalo Creek Valley did not come as invading pioneers breaking out new holdings in a strange region. They were rightful owners well established in their claims, coming into their own upon familiar and long-existing farm lands. That Buffalo Creek was well known to them seems certain. There is little doubt that there were families, if not villages, even then amongst the basswoods of Buffalo Creek.

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CHAPTER V.

THE NAME BUFFALO.

The name Buffalo Creek applied to our stream first appeared on a map at a comparatively late period. Seemingly its first appearance was on a map, a copy of which in the "Documentary History of New York"[1] is included with papers of Sir William Johnson. The map delineates with a good deal of accuracy the entire course of the Niagara River, at the upper end of which in its proper place is our stream with the name Buffalo Creek. It is entitled "Map of the Niagara River or the Straits between Lakes Erie and Ontario by Geo. Dember, 60th regt." No date is given, but it seems to have been made shortly after the capture of Fort Niagara, and therefore might be of the year 1760 or thereabouts.

The name Buffalo appeared in print in the narrative of the captivity of the Gilbert Family, published in 1780. In 1784 a treaty was signed at Fort Stanwix definitely fixing the line beyond which the Iroquois relinquished all land claims. In this treaty, both the Iroquois name Tehosororon and the English name, Buffalo Creek, were applied to the stream, the mouth of which served as one point in the boundary. That this was a well-established name at that time seems to be shown both by this treaty and by a letter written by General Irvine to General Washington, in which the name Buffalo is used without further explanation, as though the name were familiar to both writer and receiver.

That the name Buffalo, as applied not only to the creek but to the vicinity, was thoroughly well known by 1800,

1 Doc. Hist. New York II, 792 (octavo ed.). See Col. Bouquet corr.

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is shown by the attempt on the part of Joseph Ellicott to change it. His plans contemplated the establishment of a village at the mouth of the creek which he named New Amsterdam, but this name persisted for less than ten years. Congress, in 1805, erected a collection district on Buffalo Creek, and the collector was to reside at "Buffalo Creek." Even Ellicott, himself, as early as 1807, referred to his new village as New Amsterdam, *alias* Buffalo Creek; and a year later, when the New York Legislature erected Niagara County, it named as a county seat, "Buffalo or New Amsterdam." In 1810 the town of Buffalo was formed; and no reference being made to the name New Amsterdam, it can be assumed that officially (as it seems to have been unofficially), the name Buffalo had supplanted it permanently.

The name Buffalo or Buffalo Creek might easily be considered to be a translation of the Indian name of the locality or to be a derivative from such a translation. This cannot be said for Buffalo, for the Indians did not apply this name either to the creek or to the vicinity. To them it was "the place of basswoods." In a letter written at Cattaraugus Reservation April 30, 1855, Mr. Asher Wright says: "The Indian name of the creek has no connection with the English. It indicates that at some time it was remarkable for the basswood trees along its banks. 'Oo-sah' is the Seneca name for basswood, and they called the creek and the tract near its mouth 'Tiyoosyo-wa,' that is, 'At the place which abounds with basswoods.' This, at length, became shortened to 'Dosyowa,' the present name for the creek, city and reservation." The name varied in its pronunciation in the dialects of the Six Nations, yet always it retained the reference to this locality as a place where there were many basswood trees.

That this name was the well known and accepted ap-

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pellation for the creek, is evidenced by the initial designation of it in the Fort Stanwix Treaty, already alluded to, as "Te-hos-or-or-on," which is a variant of the Seneca name "Dyosowa."

It is of interest to note in this connection that the Tonawanda Creek was also known to the French by a similar name, their term being the *rivière au bois blancs.* Under this name, it appears in Chabert's correspondence and on Pouchot's map of 1759.

It might easily be expected that the English name Buffalo, was the translation of an earlier French name. The French, however, like the Indians did not know the stream as Buffalo Creek. To them it was *Rivière aux Chevaux,* "The River where the Horses are." This name was used by de Lery in 1754 when he chronicled his expedition to the Ohio River by way of the Niagara and Lake Erie. He had proceeded up the Niagara River to a camping place "below the Little Rapids," where he was detained by a heavy rain storm. On Sunday, June 2d, he made an attempt to proceed, but was caught by a strong westerly wind. "When I was at the crossing of the *Rivière aux Chevaux* the wind increased and compelled me to encamp at nine o'clock in the morning."

In April, 1758, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor of Canada, gave to Daniel de Joncaire, a monopoly of transportation over the Niagara Portage. In compensation for this exclusive privilege, Joncaire was to erect certain buildings. In the governor's instructions, he was to "apply himself to cultivate lands at the river *aux Chevaux,* at the entrance to Lake Erie where the pasturage is excellent." The only locality to which this reference can possibly refer is Buffalo Creek.

Although the French name for our river contained no reference to the buffalo, there was a stream definitely known to the French as the Buffalo River. This was a

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stream emptying into Lake Ontario, probably the present Oak Orchard Creek which had been called by Charlevoix, as early as 1721, the *Rivière aux Boeufs.* On Pouchot's map, it appears as *Grand R. aux Beufs,* and on a map made by Beaurain in 1777, this stream still appears as Buffalo River.

Failing to explain the English name Buffalo, as a translation of some pre-existing Indian or French name, one finds the simplest explanation in the contained reference to the occurence here of the American bison, popularly named the buffalo. For this, there is ample precedent in the appearance of the name as a locality name over much of the country in the Mississippi valley. The Century Atlas lists eighty-two localities bearing names referring to the buffalo, these extending over territory from middle Pennsylvania to Nevada, and from Georgia to Alberta.

Simple though it be to explain the name by connecting it with the occurence here of the bison, it is far from simple to show that this explanation is a correct one, for it is not at all certain that buffalo ever lived or even wandered here. Certainly no white visitor ever recorded having seen one here or ever having heard of one frequenting this locality, although Charlevoix, who passed through the Niagara Region, mentions and describes these animals which he first saw farther west. The Senecas had no remembrance or tradition that the buffalo frequented this creek, although some of the older people, a century ago, spoke of having seen the bones of animals which they thought to be buffalo, lying upon the ground in the immediate vicinity. The absence of any record or tradition is evidence, though not strong evidence, that buffalo were not frequenters of this creek.

A somewhat stronger evidence exists in those village sites on the reservation which were inhabited during pre-

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European times. One of the most conspicuous characteristics of these sites is the deep deposits of black earth which mark the location of the village refuse heaps. Upon these refuse heaps went all the garbage and waste from the houses of the village, the ashes and charcoal of their fires, all articles which were broken or lost and with these, bones of the animals which had been consumed as food. In the years intervening since these beds were laid down, all perishable matter has decomposed and there remains only the resulting black, ashy earth intermingled with which are such articles as are by their nature nearly indestructible, and with these are great quantities of animal bones. Amongst these bones we might expect to find those of all the animals brought to the village for food, for eventually most of them would find their final reposing-place in the refuse pile. Should the buffalo have been abundant, they would certainly have been killed for food and in the natural course of events, some of their bones must have inevitably reached these village middens. An absence of these bones from the refuse, would be the strongest possible evidence that the buffalo did not exist here when those villages were inhabited.

The writer has carefully examined refuse heaps on every village site in the territory comprised in the Buffalo Creek Reservation. From them, he has taken literally bushels of animal bones representing every food and fur animal known to have inhabited western New York, from the elk and larger deer to the squirrel, the frog and the fish; but neither on the pre-European Wenro sites, the earliest post-European Neuter sites, or the later Seneca sites, has there ever been found a single bone or a single fragment of a bone which can be attributed to the buffalo. This absence is a very strong evidence that it did not constitute a food animal of the villages of those

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three periods, which it must indubitably have done had it been found here.

Because of the lack of any historic or traditional evidence that buffalo lived or visited here, and because the refuse heaps of the Indians who lived here during the past 300 years show an entire absence of evidence of the buffalo, it can safely be said that these animals did not either live or visit here. That the creek received its name because of an abundance here of the buffalo has, therefore, absolutely nothing to substantiate it.

That the origin of the name has always been doubtful, is shown by the efforts of the early settlers to explain it. One of these is the story repeated by the Reverend Asher Wright. According to this story, a party of travelers from the east tarried at the creek and thinking that because they were so far west they must be in buffalo country, they requested their landlord to provide buffalo meat. The landlord, to satisfy them, sent out hunters who presently returned with newly-dressed meat. This was served to the travelers who pronounced it excellent. Later it transpired that the hunters had killed a colt instead of a buffalo and because of the joke, the name was applied to the creek.

This story fails utterly to explain the name, for long before there was a landlord at Buffalo Creek or travelers who might be so unsophisticated that they could be so easily fooled, the name Buffalo Creek had already been applied and was familiar to many.

Probably the true explanation of the name is that of the Seneca Indians. This is given by Nathaniel T. Strong of Irving, in a letter dated July 10, 1863. After speaking of the name, he says: "The Indian account is substantially this: that many years ago De-gi-yah-go, in English, Buffalo (a Seneca Indian of the Wolf Clan), built a bark cabin on the banks of the Buffalo Creek and

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lived there for many years until his death. His occupation was that of a fisherman. A fisherman in ancient times, with the Senecas, was an important person from the fact that the Indians in the fishing season almost wholly subsisted on fish and De-gi-yah-go was the chief fisherman of the nation. The theory then, is that when the white pioneers came to that creek, they doubtless entered into the bark cabin of De-gi-yah-go and learned from him his name. And the pioneers translated and gave the name to Buffalo Creek, after the Seneca fisherman whose bark cabin stood upon its banks."

In this story there is nothing at all improbable. That there were Senecas living on the Buffalo Creek very early, is certain. That the creek might have been named after one of these Senecas who was prominent, is not only possible but probable. Both Smoke's Creek and Scajaquada Creek were named in this way, one either from a very prominent Seneca chief known to the whites as Smoke, or from a Delaware chief "Captain Smoke," who lived in a village on the banks of this stream; the other from an Indian known to the whites as Skenjockety.

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CHAPTER VI.

THE REFUGEES ON BUFFALO CREEK.

Of the beginnings of the new settlements on Buffalo Creek we know little. No record is available of the numbers of refugees selecting this valley, or of the places where they began their clearings. A few meager details may be gleaned from the narrative of the Gilbert family, members of which were brought captive here by families into which they had been adopted. The movements of these families may, however, be considered typical of the whole.

Amongst the Senecas who moved to Buffalo Creek was the family of Sayenqueraghta, the war chief of the Confederacy. His family, taking with it two child captives, moved first to the Five-Mile Meadows, now Stella Niagara, on the eastern bank of the Niagara above Youngstown, where they had a cabin. After a short stay here, and several visits to Fort Niagara and Fort Schlosser, at the head of the portage road above the Falls, they moved by canoe up the river to Fort Erie. After a brief stay here the family paddled across the river and up "Buffaloe Creek" for a distance of about four miles, and joined Sayenqueraghta and his wife who had preceded them. Evidently these had already selected a suitable location, for almost immediately the women of the party began clearing land for planting. While the ground was being prepared the men built a log cabin. The summer seems to have been spent tending the crops, with several visits to Fort Erie and Fort Niagara. The war chief, because of his rank and prominence, was well treated at these posts, so much so that while returning from one of

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these visits at Fort Erie he was so overcome by the wine which he had drunk that he nearly overset his canoe, and narrowly escaped drowning.

Another captive, Elizabeth Peart, had been adopted into a Seneca family which settled on Buffalo Creek. Two days after her adoption her family moved to Fort Schlosser, from which they made a leisurely journey in a bark canoe to Buffalo Creek where they selected land. As soon as this had been done they returned to Fort Niagara where they purchased provisions, and probably seeds and tools. This done they hurried back to Buffalo Creek for the corn-planting. The family cleared and broke land, and evidently built a cabin.

During the ensuing summer both these families seem to have been dependent for supplies upon the English at Fort Niagara, and this was probably true of the others, in some degree at least. Sayenqueraghta's influence enabled him to secure supplies sufficient for the needs of his family. Others would probably have subsisted upon the scanty fare supplied by their hunters, eked out by such provisions as they might be able to get at the Fort.

Judging by the harvest garnered by Sayenqueraghta's family the season and soil were favorable. They gathered seventy-five bushels of corn, besides potatoes and pumpkins. This is the first recorded harvest from the fertile fields along our creek.

The following spring, 1781, the families left their plantations and made a camp six miles up the lake in a maple grove. Here they stayed for two months, making maple sugar. A great pigeon roost later in the season supplied them with squabs and pigeons for present use, and when smoked, for the following winter.

These experiences of the only two families of whom we have any record were probably identical with those of all the others. They came, selected their land, and

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hacked down such trees as encumbered their ground. The men built cabins of the logs thus provided and secured game and fish enough for their subsistence. The women, meanwhile, cleared the land of its underbrush, and with primitive tools, or with hoes received from Fort Niagara, planted their seed corn amongst the stumps. The long summer months while waiting for their harvest they spent in the daily routine of primitive life, varied by visits to the forts.

For nearly two decades after the Seneca refugees pushed their canoes up the languid current of Buffalo Creek and in the unkempt clearings along its banks reared their miserable cabins and garnered their meager crops of corn, their little cluster of cabins hidden away in the wilderness was the scene of activities far-reaching and important. This period coincided with the formative period of the United States. The Revolution ended officially in 1783, and the new republic was born in 1789. States were settling their disputed claims upon a vast wilderness. Ambitious land companies casually bought and sold lands the size of European kingdoms, and restless whites were pushing ever westward from their increasingly crowded eastern settlements.

Remote and immured though they were, the settlements on Buffalo Creek were far from remaining unaffected by these rapidly-moving events. Visitors came among them; inquisitive tourists bound for the English posts on the Upper Lakes; British officers; envoys and delegations from the new republic; land agents; missionaries; surveyors, all toiled through the sodden forests or up the turbulent river, tarried for a brief while at Buffalo Creek, then passed on. From these cabins went emissaries to the distant southwestern Indians; delegations to Philadelphia, specially invited by his excellency, the President; grave and stately barbarians, gathering to

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take council about lands; painted warriors, filing away on the dim trail to the west to aid their brethern on the war-path.

The first visitors were captives, dragged from their cabin homes on the frontiers, adopted into Seneca families and with them settling on Buffalo Creek. Of these none have received more notoriety than members of the Gilbert family who were brought here as captives at the very beginning of the settlements. Although their adventures differed little from those of hundreds of other captives, they were published in detail and so attracted a great deal of attention even at that time.

The seizure of the family and their forced journey to Niagara were incidents common to the border warfare of the time. Benjamin Gilbert, a Quaker, had established a grist and saw mill on Mahoning Creek which empties into Lehigh River a few miles from Mauch Chunk. At the time this was on the frontier of Pennsylvania, and was known to be in constant danger from war parties. A portion of the Susquehanna Valley at Wyoming had already been raided and other raids were frequent. Probably because he considered himself secure through the known fact that he was a Quaker, Mr. Gilbert remained at his mill in spite of alarms.

On April 25, 1780, a party of eleven Indians, one of those sent out from Fort Niagara to relieve the congestion there, appeared at the mill. Five of this party were Senecas, and in command were two half-breed Senecas, Rowland and John Montour. Because resistance seemed useless, or because Mr. Gilbert had religious scruples against armed resistance, the entire family gave themselves up. The Indians tied them securely and after looting and burning their home, marched them off on their long journey to Fort Niagara. The party of prisoners numbered fifteen and comprised the immediate family of Mr. Gilbert with

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his sons' wives and families, a neighbor's girl and a hired man. Of this party only five were brought to Buffalo Creek, Elizabeth Peart, wife of Benjamin Peart and her nine months' old baby; Rebecca Gilbert, sixteen years old; a little boy, Benjamin Gilbert, probably her cousin; and Abner Gilbert.

This relatively large party was hurried along the forest trails to Fort Niagara, enduring on the way all the hardships incident to captivity, hunger, utter fatigue, cold, blows and the constant danger of massacre by their captors, and finally the gauntlet. After seventeen days they reached the Fort and comparative safety. Here the party was dispersed. Rebecca was fortunate enough to be adopted at once by the daughter of Sayenqueraghta, who had married Rowland Montour. Some members of the family were sent down to Quebec and safety. Others were sent to the Genesee villages of Nundow and Caneadea. Elizabeth Peart was adopted by a Seneca family which eventually went to Buffalo Creek. The boy Benjamin was adopted into the family of Rowland Montour with his cousin Rebecca. Abner was adopted into the family of one of his captors, a Cayuga.

The family which adopted Elizabeth took her with them to Buffalo Creek, where they broke ground for corn. Scarcity of provisions made it necessary for the whole party to return to Fort Niagara. Here they separated Elizabeth and her infant child and sent the baby to a family in Canada. When they returned to their plantation on Buffalo Creek, Elizabeth became ill. At first her family showed her some attention, but her sickness continuing, they built her a hut on the edge of their cornfield and left her there to look after it. Here she was cheered by a visit from a white man, a captive like herself, who brought the news that her baby had been released and was then safe with some white people. She

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remained isolated here until autumn, when, harvest being over, she was taken in once more by her Seneca family.

She remained with them at Buffalo Creek only part of the winter of 1780-1781. Another captive had brought her the news that her husband was at the Genesee River and that he was ill, but late in the winter her family went to Fort Niagara for a supply of provisions and took her with them. Here she met her husband who had been brought from the Genesee, and was re-united with her child, and ultimately they were released without her having returned to Buffalo Creek.

The girl, Rebecca Gilbert, sixteen years old, and Benjamin Gilbert her cousin, somewhat younger, were adopted into the family of Rowland Montour, a half-breed son-in-law of Sayenqueraghta. Almost immediately after their arrival, in May, 1780, the whole family moved to Buffalo Creek. Here the two children fared better than Elizabeth Peart. Rebecca was well clothed in "short clothes, leggings and a gold-laced hat." She was assigned part of the cooking which she was able to do after the "English method." Benjamin was considered to be the successor of Sayenqueraghta and "was entirely freed from restraint," and as a token of his imporance he wore a "silver medal pendant from his neck."

On several occasions during the summer of 1780 the children were taken to Fort Erie and Fort Niagara. On one of these visits the English made efforts to ransom them, but their Seneca family refused to release them and they were brought back to Buffalo Creek. Here they passed a season of misfortune. Both became sick with malaria, for which their Indian mother treated them with various Indian medicines. While they were sick they received news of the death of Rebecca's father, who died on the way to Quebec. Shortly afterward they were once more bereaved; this time by the death of their Indian

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father, Rowland Montour, who died of a wound incurred in a raid.

During the winter of 1780-81 the English made several efforts to have the children released but to no avail, for their adopted family would not give them up. Finally the family was made to understand that General Haldimand had issued mandatory orders that every white prisoner be released, and they finally acquiesced.

The release was not immediate, for in the early spring of 1781 the family took the children to a maple-sugar grove where for two months they helped make maple sugar. After their return to Buffalo Creek, news was received of a pigeon roost about fifty miles away and part of the family repaired thither, taking Benjamin. Finally, the time set for their release having approached, the two children made ready for their departure, and probably with few regrets embarked in the canoe which bore them for the last time from the fragrant basswoods of Buffalo Creek.

Abner Gilbert, another member of the family, had been adopted by a Cayuga who took him across the river. Here they cleared land near the Falls, and planted corn. The next spring, 1781, he was taken to some place "near Buffalo Creek," where he helped clear land for corn, squashes and potatoes. Here he spent a whole season in a "dronish Indian life." He was visited by Captain Powell from Fort Niagara and by his half brother Thomas Peart, who had been released. These had brought hoes and a stock of provisions for distribution amongst the Senecas. Soon after this Abner was released.

Besides these four captives who were constrained to make their home here, there were other visitors who followd the windings of the creek, either on business bent or under restraint. Two captives, we know, visited Elizabeth Peart here. One of the Pearts passed this way

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on his journey to the Genesee Valley. Thomas Peart, possibly the same, visited his half-brother near here. Meanwhile officers from the forts seem to have visited here occasionally.

For four years after the first settlements were made in 1780, nothing was recorded as having happened at Buffalo Creek. It seems to have been a period of more or less quiet growth, when the Senecas and their colleagues, the Cayugas and Onondagas, after various shiftings about, began to settle down in several communities, of which that at Buffalo Creek was the most important.

During these four years the American War had ended, and peace was declared in 1783. At once disputes had arisen amongst the colonies regarding their claims to lands beyond their actual borders, and these claims were to have a very decided effect upon the fortunes of the Seneca settlers along Buffalo Creek.

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CHAPTER VII.

THE OWNERSHIP OF WESTERN NEW YORK.

When in 1628 Charles II chartered the colony of Massachusetts he granted to it an immense tract of land at that time almost entirely unexplored and unknown. The original grant of James to the "Councell" at Plymouth comprised "all that parte of America lyeing and being in bredth from forty degrees of northerly latitude from the equinoctiall lyne to the forty eight degrees of the saide latitude inclusively, and in length of and within all the bredth aforesaid throughout the maine landes from sea to sea." . . . This "Councell established at Plymouth in the county of Devon for the plantinge, ruling, ordering and government of Newe England in America," deeded on March 19, 1628, to John Endicott and others all that part of America lying between a line three miles north of the Merrimac River or to the northward of any and every part of it, and a line three miles south of the southern part of Massachusetts Bay, "and all landes and hereditaments whatsoever lying within the lymytts aforesaide, north and south in latitude and bredth aforesaide, throughout the maine landes there from the Atlantick and western sea and ocean on the east parte; to the south sea on the west parte. . . " The tract thus granted lay between 41° 40′ and 44° 15′ or approximately between the present Pennsylvania line and the head of the St. Lawrence River; and extended beyond Lake Erie, to include the southern half of Michigan and Wisconsin.

The portion of New York thus claimed by Massachusetts may be said roughly to comprise all south of St.

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Lawrence County and west of a line laid down by Guy Johnson in 1771 under orders from the then Governor of New York, as being the western boundary of New York. New York also claimed this same tract on its western boundary because of a grant made in 1664 by Charles II in favor of James, Duke of York. More particularly, however, it claimed it because it belonged to the Six Nations, who were always claimed by New York as dependents.

Besides these two conflicting paper claims upon the lands of the present western New York there was the claim of the Six Nations based upon their actual possession of the tract in question and their proved ability to hold it by force of arms. Both New York and Massachusetts recognized this prior claim of ownership.

From the very beginning the Dutch in the New Netherlands had always recognized the claims of the Indians to land which they occupied, and had uniformly purchased from those Indians in actual or apparent possession all lands which they acquired, every settler being at liberty to buy directly from the Indian owners. After the transfer of New Netherlands to England this procedure was so changed that to acquire Indians lands prospective buyers must procure from the Governor of the province a license authorizing them to treat with the Indians in their effort to acquire title. That the recognition of the possessory rights of the Indians by the New York government was a settled policy is shown by the instructions to the Earl of Bellomont in 1697 by which he was to purchase "great tracts of lands for His Maj'ty from the Indians."

After the American Revolution this policy was continued in the State Constitution by the clause: "Be it ordained, That no purchase or contracts for the sale of lands made since the fourteenth day of October, in the

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year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and seventy five, or which may hereafter be made with any of the said Indians, within the limits of this State, shall be binding on the said Indians, or deemed valid, unless made under the authority and with the consent of the Legislature of this State." An act was passed in 1788 giving power to enforce this article and to punish infractions of it.

In settling their conflicting claims New York and Massachusetts therefore, could not ignore the claims of the Six Nations. These were considered by the United States as conquered but sovereign nations, and their claims were recognized by both states as valid. Title to these lands could only be acquired by purchase under authority of one or the other state. The extent of these lands was unknown at the time of the Revolution. Until the end of the eighteenth century there existed no definite boundary between the lands of the colony of New York and those of the Six Nations. In 1701 in a treaty with Lieutenant Governor Nanfan the Five Nations surrendered to the King of Great Britain all their hunting lands which they had acquired by conquest and which they defined in detail. This deed was ratified by three of the nations in 1726, the Tuscaroras having come in. The land thus surrendered in trust was a tract sixty miles wide from the Onondaga country along Lake Ontario, Niagara River and Lake Erie to Canahogue Creek on Lake Erie.

A conference was held in 1768 between Sir William Johnson and the Six Nations at which a boundary between them and the English colonies was fixed. This line began at the junction of the Canada and Wood Creeks near Fort Stanwix. Thence it ran southward to the head of Tionaderha Creek (Unadilla); thence to the mouth of this and across to the Mohawk branch of

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the Delaware. It followed down the Delaware to the Popaston branch; thence westward to the Susquehanna which it touched at Owega. It then followed the Susquehanna to Awandoe Creek, then across to the west branch of the Susquehanna, thence west across to the Allegheny River with it touched at Kittaning.[1]

Eventually the various claimants amongst the States, following the recommendation of Maryland, had ceded nearly all the lands claimed by them west of Pennsylvania to the Federal Government, which took immediate steps to acquire title to them. The Iroquois Confederacy being considered a conquered nation, ambassadors were summoned to meet in council and sign a treaty ceding to the United States all their lands in the west.

As a result of this conference at Fort Stanwix in 1784 a treaty was signed in which a definite boundary was established beyond which the Six Nations relinquished all claim. The boundaries are designated in article 3 of the treaty as follows: "A line shall be drawn beginning at the mouth of a creek about four miles east of Niagara called Oyonwayea, or Johnston's landing place upon the lake named by the Indians Oswego, and by us Ontario; from thence southerly in a direction always four miles east of the carrying path between Lakes Erie and Ontario, to the mouth of Tehoseroron, or Buffalo Creek on Lake Erie; thence south to the north boundary of the State of Pennsylvania; thence west to the end of the said north boundary; thence south along the west boundary of the said state to the river Ohio; the said line from the mouth of Oyonwayea to the Ohio shall be the western boundary of the lands of the Six Nations...."

The region between this line and the line laid down by Sir William Johnson was thus recognized by the United States as belonging to the Six Nations. Five

1 Col. Docs. VI, 800; VIII, 136, 548. Bur. Eth. 1896-1897, 581.

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years later at Fort Harmar the Six Nations renewed and confirmed this treaty with an amendment that these nations be allowed possession of all lands east, north and south of this line. At the same time the United States confirmed the Six Nations in possession of all lands inhabited by them, not previously ceded, and these lands were then ceded to New York State.

Meanwhile New York and Massachusetts had settled their conflicting claims to lands west of Johnson's line by a compromise. By an agreement made in 1786 at Hartford, New York acquired sovereignty and jurisdiction over them. Massachusetts was given the right to sell the lands, but as these were still the property of the Indians, this right consisted really of the right of "preemption," which was the right to purchase first from the Indian owners.

The western boundary of the lands over which New York was to have sovereignty and to which Massachusetts was to retain the first right to buy from the Indians was designated as follows:

Along the line between the possessions of Great Britain and the United States in Lake Ontario, "thence westerly and southerly along the said boundary line to a meridian which will pass one mile due east from the northern termination of the strait or waters between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie; thence south along the said meridian to the south shore of Lake Ontario; thence on the eastern side of the said strait by a line always one mile distant from and parallel to the said strait to Lake Erie; thence due west to the boundary line between the United States and the King of Great Britain; thence along the said boundary line until it meets with the line of cession from the State of New York to the United States; thence along the said line of cession to the northwest corner of the State of Pennsylvania. . . "

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It will be noted that this western boundary line is not coincident with the western boundary of the lands of the Six Nations as established at the Fort Stanwix treaty. The western line of the Indian lands at the northern end of the Niagara was to be four miles east of the river. The western line of the State of New York was established one mile east of the river. The western boundary of the Indian lands was a line drawn south from the mouth of Buffalo Creek. The Massachusetts compromise gave to New York all of that portion of the present New York between the meridian of Buffalo and the northwest corner of Pennsylvania.

The right of "pre-emption" upon which was based all the later land purchases was definitely and explicitly granted to Massachusetts in the tenth article of the compromise as follows:

"Tenthly. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts may grant the right of pre-emption of the whole or any part of the said lands and territories to any person or persons who by virtue of such grant shall have good right to extinguish by purchase the claims of the native Indians . . . "

At the present time this pre-emption right still constitues "a lien or preference in case of sale" upon the Cattaraugus and Allegheny Reservations. The title to all the lands of the Six Nations in New York was eventually acquired by purchase, excepting these lands on the Cattaraugus and the Allegheny, the Tonawanda and at Oil Spring. The pre-emption right to the Tonawanda lands was extinguished by the United States, but it still hangs like a shadow over the other two reservations, being vested in the heirs of a Mr. Appleby, who until a few years ago was the sole remaining trustee of the Ogden Land Company.

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The lien is a peculiar one. "The title to these reservations is in the nation, and the members are therefore at common law, 'tenants in common.' Each owns his undivided share absolutely, independent of the United States or the State of New York. The individuals, however, only hold a fee equivalent to the ownership of the land they improve, with power to sell or devise amongst their own people, but not to strangers. It is a good title. The nation itself can not disturb it. Within the Six Nations each head of a family or a single adult has the right to enter upon unoccupied land, build upon it, and improve it, thereby acquiring title, with authority to sell to another Indian or devise the same by will; but all these transactions must be between Indians."[1]

Immediately after the compromise prospective purchasers appeared for the Indian lands in New York. Of these the most prominent were Nathaniel Gorham and Oliver Phelps. These formed a company comprising most of the other applicants and as agents for this company they purchased from Massachusetts all the Indian lands owned in New York by that commonwealth for one million dollars to be payable in three years in Massachusetts paper money. The value of this script was low at that time but before the expiration of the three years it had so appreciated in value that the company was unable to pay in full.

The purchase of Phelps and Gorham was of the preemption right only, the right to purchase the lands in question from their Indian owners. Massachusetts could give no title to the lands, for this was considered still in the Iroquois. It conveyed "the right of pre-emption and all the title and interest of the said Commonwealth in and unto all that tract of land lying in the State of New York, the right of pre-emption whereof the State of

1 Donaldson, Census for 1890 for Indians, p. 449.

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New York ceded, granted and confirmed to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts . . . "

It remained to acquire title to the lands from these Indians, and to do this they called a meeting at Buffalo Creek in 1788.

To secure the good will of the Senecas, Mr. Phelps decided to send to Buffalo Creek a man who had already the confidence of this nation. This was a minister, the Reverend Samuel Kirkland, who had in many ways identified himself with the best interests of the Six Nations, and who was favorably known amongst them. He had already been as far west as the Seneca town at the present Geneva. He had been appointed Commissioner by Massachusetts to represent it at the sale, and he was now to visit the almost unknown settlements at Buffalo Creek.

Guided by two Senecas he passed through the once populous country bordering the Genesee. Crossing this, he followed the well-trodden path which led westward. On his way he noted as curiosities an earthen embankment, the remains of an Indian fort which he described minutely, and a hidden lake, the abode of a fire-breathing monster, whom his Seneca guides appeased by sacrifices. The embankment was that still visible at Oakfield. The demon-haunted lake is Devil's Lake, a tiny pond below the escarpment just north of Indian Falls.

He reached Buffalo Creek in June, 1788, and found here a varied gathering of many nations. Amongst them he found acquaintances with whom he at once conferred, not only about the proposed land sale, but about the prospects for missionary work. The Board of Commissioners at Boston had taken this opportunity to acquire through him an intimate knowledge of conditions amongst the Senecas, and of the feeling towards missionary en-

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deavor. He found the Senecas unresponsive towards his advances and averse to any missionary work.

Shortly after his arrival, Mr. Phelps reached the settlement and the council met to perfect the sale of the lands which he desired. During the council the Indians constantly appealed to Mr. Kirkland for aid in making a decision, and so powerful was his influence that Mr. Phelps was enabled to acquire title to all the lands east of the Genesee River, and a tract at the Falls on the west side of the Genesee, for $5,000, and a rental of $500 per year, to be paid forever. As tokens of appreciation of his services, Mr. Kirkland received large tracts of land as gifts from both Mr. Phelps and the Indians. The first payment for this tract was made August 1, 1789, when chiefs of the Six Nations met Mr. Phelps at Canandaigua. The Senecas were represented by Jack Berry.

This purchase thus harmoniously consummated, bade fair to be overturned, and that through no fault of either seller or buyer. Phelps and Gorham had stipulated in the purchase of the pre-emption right that the purchase money should be paid "in the public paper of the Commonwealth." At the time of purchase this had depreciated in value, but when payment became due, it had appreciated so rapidly that the purchasers were unable to meet their obligations and it was only through a compromise that they were able to secure any benefits from their work.

For two years after this sale the delimitations of the lands claimed by the various nations in New York were the subject of several conferences. Almost immediately after the return of Mr. Kirkland to Albany he was commissioned in September, 1788, to return to Buffalo Creek and invite the Senecas to a conference at Albany the following January. He reached Fort Erie in October where he met Skendyoughwatti (Owen Blacksnake) and

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a week later he attended a council called by Farmer's Brother at Buffalo Creek. Here he presented a wampum belt inviting the Senecas to attend the conference.

The following April, at a council held at Buffalo Creek, the boundary between the Senecas and the Cayugas was placed at the east line of the Phelps purchase. A month later Peter Otsiquette arrived at Buffalo Creek with a message to the Onondagas and Cayugas inviting them to meet Governor Clinton at Fort Stanwix in June to fix a boundary between their lands.

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CHAPTER VIII.

INDIAN WARS IN THE SOUTHWEST.

In the peaceful and harmonious conference at Buffalo Creek there was at least one person who was interested in activities which led to a wide-spread war. This was Joseph Brant, who while at the conference confided to Mr. Kirkland a far-reaching plan for a great alliance of Indian nations, with a view of stopping the westward progress of the whites.

The treaty of 1783 which ended the Revolution gave the United States possession of a vast tract of land east of the Mississippi River. This was nominal only, for even before the end of the war various claimants were already quarreling about its ownership. Nearly all the original colonies claimed that the lands granted them by their charters reached at least as far as the Mississippi River, and maps of the period showed this trans-montane territory cut into narrow strips, each the width of a seaboard colony, which headed in the Atlantic Ocean and swept boldly back across uncharted areas to the Mississippi. Besides these claims, Virginia claimed all the lands northwest of the Ohio River, basing its claim upon the indubitable fact that her troops had conquered it.

Besides these vague and shadowy claims the western lands were claimed by the Indian tribes who were domiciled there. North of the Ohio these were Miamis, Wyandots, Ottawas, Shawnees, Delawares, and others, whose villages dotted the wide prairies and forests. But all these tribes were dominated by the Iroquois of New York, who by sheer prowess of war had overcome these tribesmen.

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In addition to these numerous and insistent claimants, the British, although they had just ceded the lands to the United States, were loath to give them up and still retained posts there. They leagued themselves with the Indians, whose trade they desired, in an effort to keep them in possession of the lands.

Immediately after the end of the Revolution it became apparent to the people of the United States that these conflicting claims must eventually lead to disputes amongst the Sates of such a serious nature that the existence of the new republic might be threatened. Concessions by the states and wise legislation by Congress led to the passage of the Ordinance of 1787 by which the states relinquished to the Nation their claims to most of the lands west of the Allegheny Mountains. This simplified the problem by confining the claims to the United States and the Indians only.

The people themselves had not waited for the settlement of the disputes about ownership. While the negotiations were still going on which resulted in the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, emigrants began to pour westward into the fertile valleys of the Ohio and its tributaries. By flat-boat and pack-horse, by wagon-train and ox-team, they pushed into the wilderness of what is now the southern part of Ohio. Here they came at once into contact with the actual occupants of the lands, the Indians, who watched with alarm and hatred the influx of white intruders. Clashes were inevitable. Young warriors, eager for glory, found their opportunity in the unsuspecting emigrant trains and lonely log cabins of the whites upon which they pounced like hawks. Boats loaded with settlers and their impedimenta were lured to the shore where warriors lay in ambush. Men were shot and scalped in their fields, women at their cabin doors, and children carried away into captivity. The horrors of

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Indian war hung like the wings of death over the streams and woodlands of the Ohio Valley.

In 1787 and 1788 the leaders of the Indians began to appreciate the seriousness to them of this influx of white settlers into their lands and the futility of attempting to check it by desultory raids. Of these leaders one of the most prominent was Joseph Brant. He was a war chief of the Mohawks, brother of Molly Brant the Indian wife of Sir William Johnson. He had received a good English education and was withal a man of really great ideas. During the Revolution he had led his Mohawks and others of the Confederacy on numerous raids against the border settlements, and after its close he had followed the English to Canada where his tribesmen were allotted lands on the Grand River. He remained a pensioner of the English Government and was always prominent in the border activities of the English.

In 1788 when the Rev. Mr. Kirkland visited Buffalo Creek as a Commissioner of Massachusetts to superintend the sale of the Seneca lands to Mr. Phelps, he met Brant, with whom he had been acquainted, and had a long conversation with him about the activities of the Indians in the West. Brant informed him then that twenty emissaries of the Iroquois had been for nearly a year and a half, and even then were, travelling amongst the Indian tribes of the Ohio country in an attempt to unite them into a great confederacy which might be powerful enough to withstand the increasing pressure of the whites.

Brant and the other leaders of this movement were aided rather openly by the English. These still retained possession of Detroit, Niagara and other frontier posts in the territory ceded to the United States, and the Indians still continued to use these posts as headquarters and bases of supply. From them went bands of warriors armed with English guns and encouraged by the

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English commandants to harry the newly-established settlements on the Ohio. It was no mere indifference which prompted this attitude. Frequently it was active hostility, at the best thinly veiled, and sometimes quite open.

Contrasted with the active hostility of the English and Indians was the deprecatory and even cringing course adopted by Congress. Undoubtedly the country during the seven long years of the Revolution had become sated with warefare, and the country viewed with dismay and apprehension the more or less unauthorized invasion by its ruder members, of a territory which though nominally a part of the United States was still a hostile country, and particularly as this invasion seemed liable to bring on a recurrence of hostilities. Mainly its policy was to leave it alone and allow the stark backwoodsmen to work out their own safety in their own way, and they disregarded the continued tales of atrocities perpetrated on their own people in this border war.

When George Washington was elected President of the new Republic it seemed that this policy might be changed. Yet for a time a half-hearted defence was all that was attempted. In 1790 the Indians of the Ohio country, emboldened by a lack of adequate defence, had cut off bands of militia, captured supply trains after pitched battles, and besieged the settlers in their palisaded stations. Indians hitherto friendly had treacherously and without cause ravaged the upper Allegheny Valley, where they had always been upon the friendliest terms with the settlers. General Harmar had led a punitive force against the Miamis and after several skirmishes had burned some of their towns. But he was almost immediately forced to retire to the comparative safety of his fort at the mouth of the Muskingum.

If the policy of the United States toward the Ohio In-

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dians was half-hearted, toward the Iroquois it was distinctly conciliatory. There was no doubt that warriors from Buffalo Creek and the Genesee were taking part in the outrages in Ohio, yet everything was done, not to punish them but to persuade them to remain friendly; and failing this, to keep them neutral. Yet so strong was the influence of Brant and the English, and so sullen the anger of the Iroquois towards their conquerors, that for a time it appeared that every effort must fail.

Although not officially involved, the Senecas on Buffalo Creek played an active part in the struggle. It was the policy of President Washington to secure the neutrality of the Senecas, and if possible, to induce them to act as intermediaries to bring about a peace. To secure these results, Colonel Thomas Proctor was sent in April, 1791, to convey to the Senecas the request of the President that they remain neutral and to urge them to send an embassy of peace to the Miamis.

Colonel Proctor first visited the village at Squaky Hill (Mount Morris), where he learned that contrary to his expectations no council had been called at Buffalo Creek. He then set out for Cornplanter's village on the Allegheny River. Arrived there he found that the preceding winter a Delaware party had treacherously raided the towns along the Allegheny and in revenge the whites had turned upon the Senecas of Cornplanter's village and Cornplanter and others had been obliged to take refuge in Fort Franklin for safety. Proctor went to the fort, met the chiefs there and delivered his message, at the same time urging them to join him in a visit to the Miamis, there to use their influence to prevent the depredations by Seneca warriors against the frontier. The chiefs refused, believing that this was a matter which could only be settled in council at Buffalo Creek.

Accompanied by Cornplanter, Colonel Proctor arrived

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at Buffalo Creek on April 27th, and on the following day opened a council which had been hastily summoned. He read a letter from President Washington, one from the Secretary of War and a deed signed by the President restoring certain lands. At a meeting next day he announced his errand, and read a letter from the Secretary of War relative to the war on the Ohio frontier. Horatio Jones acted as interpreter.

In answer Red Jacket said the matter was so important that they would consider it, and would convene at Fort Niagara where Colonel Proctor should meet them. Believing correctly that the Senecas were dominated by the English, and that any decision made at the Fort must be made adversely, Proctor refused to meet them there. After a good deal of negotiation the council was finally convened on May 4th, "at the storehouse on Lake Erie." Colonel Proctor was not invited to attend, but he was invited to dine there with the English officers from the Fort.

It was not until May 15th that an answer was given. Meanwhile opinion amongst the Indians was adverse to any action tending to end the war, or even to their remaining neutral. The women, however, were in favor of a peace and it was from them that the final decision emanated. It was voiced by Red Jacket, the chosen speaker of the women. He announced that they had decided to remain neutral, and that a number of chiefs named by them should accompany him to the Miamis.

With such a satisfactory termination to his efforts Colonel Proctor set about seeking transportation for his delegation. He had planned and expected to charter a vessel from the English commandant at Fort Niagara. In this he could traverse Lake Erie as far as Sandusky on the Maumee River and thence by a short journey overland he could easily reach his destination. He wrote

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the commandant for permission to use a vessel, but the permission was not granted. The delegation was unwilling to make the journey afoot, and so, his plans being totally disarranged, he unwillingly withdrew.

But this was not the end of the matter. In June, 1791, Timothy Pickering called a council at the Painted Post on the Chemung River. His object was to conciliate the Iroquois, assure them of the friendship of the United States and of their desire to remain at peace, and if possible to range them on the side of the United States. At this council it was arranged that certain chiefs were to visit the President and confer with him. In December the Secretary of War directed Mr. Kirkland to send runners to these chiefs inviting them to attend and a month later he directed him to endeavor to ascertain the result of this.

An invitation from the President! Can not you visualize the scene on our Creek? The long log council-house; the sluggish icy stream slipping past beneath its leaning basswoods; the wide crowded room with its benches in the middle; the huddled groups at the sides, men at one end, women at the other; the runner, worn and travel-stained; an interpreter—Parrish, is it?—reading the screed as he would a message wampum; the grave scrutiny of the chiefs.

In answer to the invitation a delegation filed away from Buffalo Creek on the long trails to Philadelphia, where they were urged to use their influence to bring about a peace between the Ohio Indians and the United States. This they agreed to do, but so loath were they that it was not until September, 1792, after a visit from General Chapin, the Indian Agent, that a delegation made the promised overtures. They proceeded to the hostile Indians, who received them cordially. They laid before them the desirability of a peace with the encroaching

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whites, and so effective were their representations that the hostile Indians requested the Six Nations to inform the President that they would treat with him at the rapids of the Miami the following Spring and that they would cease fighting until that time.

In November the delegation returned to Buffalo Creek, where they made a report of their visit and its results to Israel Chapin, son of General Chapin, the Indian Agent to the Six Nations. This report was sent to Philadelphia by Jasper Parrish, the interpreter.

In pursuance of this invitation to confer Congress appropriated one hundred thousand dollars to defray the expense of negotiating with the hostiles. The President appointed General Benjamin Lincoln, Mr. Beverly Randolph and Mr. Timothy Pickering, Commissioners to treat with them. General Lincoln journeyed by way of Buffalo Creek where he arrived on June 11, 1793. He met the Senecas here in council and urged them to meet with the Commissioners and to use their influence to bring about a peace. He lodged in a cabin on Buffalo Creek for an evening, and witnessed an Indian dance, and on the following day after a breakfast of parched corn raised on our creek flats he departed for Niagara where he was to meet the others.

After a delay at Fort Niagara, the Commissioners arrived at the mouth of the Detroit River, where they remained until August 17th. A great conference of Indians was being held on the Miami River, but the Indians would not allow the Commissioners to attend. They notified them, however, by runner, of the business of the meeting and at the end of their deliberations informed them that the Indians had decided that the boundary between them and the whites should be the Ohio River. The Commissioners replied by letter that they could not agree to this, and immediately departed for home.

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While at the council at Buffalo Creek an English officer present made a sketch of the council showing an Indian orator addressing the Commissioners. This orator was a Mohawk, Flying Sky.

While all this diplomacy was being carried on with the Iroquois, the wretched military activities on the Ohio had culminated in an almost fatal disaster. General St. Clair had been put in command of an army which was intended to protect the settlers of Ohio. A campaign to punish and overawe the tribesmen was determined upon. Mismanagement and a lack of appreciation of the seriousness of the situation marked the campaign from the first. General St. Clair was a soldier trained in war as carried on by European armies, but he was untrained in forest warfare, and in spite of repeated warnings and admonitions by Washington himself and others, he made no effort to adapt himself to this new mode. His army was made up of untrained recruits taken from the towns, with a stiffening of a few regulars, and all were utterly unfamiliar with wilderness ways. As a result, after a long march in the winter of 1791 the army was surprised by an overwhelming force of Indians and disastrously routed. All that saved it from total annihilation was the attraction of St. Clair's well-stocked camp, for looting this proved more attractive to the Indian victors than pursuing and slaughtering fleeing Americans.

The effect of this disaster upon the Indians was immediate. The boasts of the victorious bands were substantiated by huge quantities of loot taken from St. Clair's camp. Scalps there were in plenty, and glory for every warrior. The tribes which had been wavering in their decision at once joined the victors. Many of the Senecas of Buffalo Creek had undoubtedly taken part in

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the battle and the whole body seemed determined to cast in their lot against the United States.

The disaster had its effect upon the English allies of the Indians also. Their hostility became more and more open until it culminated in February of 1794 when Lord Dorchester, Governor of Canada, in a speech to some Indian chiefs, told them that he would not be surprised to see the United States and England at war within the year, and intimated that the Indians might expect aid from the English in establishing a line of demarkation between them and the United States. Copies of this speech were widely distributed amongst the Indians. In April of 1794, Lieutenant Colonel John Butler addressed a meeting of chiefs "near Buffalo," probably at Buffalo Creek, and delivered the speech to them, at the same time warning them to prepare for it by calling in all their people who might be scattered about the country.

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CHAPTER IX.

THE TREATY OF 1794.

Seemingly in accordance with the policy of the United States of securing and holding the friendship of the Six Nations or at least their neutrality in the war with the Ohio Indians, a great council was convened in 1794 at Canandaigua. Timothy Pickering, United States Agent, presided, and his intent was, by means of a treaty, to remove as far as possible all cause of dissatisfaction and secure official action expressing the friendship of the Six Nations and the United States. A combination of conditions enabled him to fulfill his purpose most happily.

A large number of Indians presented themselves at the rendzevous—1800, it is said. Some of the leading chiefs, of whom Brant was one, had refused to attend, and it was pretty generally understood that this was due to the influence of English officers at Fort Niagara. The policy of the British Government seems to have been to prevent any action which might ally the Iroquois with the United States, and these agents were active in their efforts to induce the Six Nations to refuse all overtures of peace. It was well known also that the continued successes of the Ohio Indians against the United States troops, especially the defeat of St. Clair's force, had decided the Senecas, at least, to espouse actively the cause of the Ohio Indians, and to take up the hatchet once more against the border settlements of New York and Pennsylvania. The settlers, especially those just arrived in the Phelps and Gorham tract, were apprehensive and alarmed.

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This determination, due partly to English influence, but more undoubtedly to the belief that the United States was too weak to subdue such a powerful coalition of Indians, was abruptly changed. General Wayne, who succeeded General St. Clair in command in Ohio, met the hostile tribesmen, and in a fierce fought battle at Fallen Timbers on the Maumee River, under the walls of an English fort there, decisively crushed them. The news of this defeat reached the Senecas almost immediately, evidently either by warriors actually engaged in the battle, or by runners who were in touch with the Indian forces. At any rate, the news reached them before it reached the whites. Mr. O. H. Turner states that Mr. William Ewing, who had been sent by Mr. Chapin, the Indian Agent, to bring Brant to Canandaigua, had just reached Fort Erie when General Simcoe, Governor of Canada, called a council there of Senecas from Buffalo Creek. They were told of Wayne's victory at Fallen Timbers, and immediately after, Red Jacket assured Mr. Ewing that the Senecas would attend at Canandaigua.

The English agents did not, however, cease their efforts to influence the Senecas. When these appeared in council they were accompanied by William Johnston, who acted as interpreter. Johnston was an officer in the English army, who then and later had immense influence over the Buffalo Creek Senecas. So evident were his designs that Mr. Pickering flatly refused to admit him to any meeting and took such a firm stand that Johnston was finally excluded.

Immediately after this an Indian runner brought to Mr. Pickering the news of Wayne's victory, which he at once communicated to the council. The news of their overthrow, coming at this psychological moment, coupled with Mr. Pickering's firm stand in regard to Johnston, engendered in the chiefs present a much more respectful

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attitude, and in conjunction with Mr. Pickering's conciliatory and tactful manner, served to bring about a harmonious and friendly discussion.

As a result, a treaty was signed by the chiefs. Peace and friendship were expressly stipulated. The United States guaranteed them the right to occupy and own their lands until they themselves chose to sell them. New limits were set to the Seneca lands by which their territory was enlarged. By the Fort Stanwix treaty in 1784 their western boundary in New York was to be a line drawn from the mouth of Buffalo Creek due south to the Pennsylvania line. The new boundary delineated in the Canandaigua treaty was as follows:

> The land of the Seneka Nation is bounded as follows: Beginning on Lake Ontario, at the northwest corner of the land they sold to Oliver Phelps, the line runs westerly along the lake as far as O-yong-wong-yeh Creek at Johnson's Landing Place, about four miles eastward from the fort at Niagara; thence southerly up that creek to its main fork; then straight to the main fork of Steadman's Creek, which empties into the river Niagara about Fort Schosser and then onward from that fork, continuing the same straight course to that river (this line from the mouth of O-yong-wong-yeh Creek to the river Niagara, above Fort Schosser, being the eastern boundary of a strip of land extending from the same line to Niagara river which the Seneka Nation ceded to the King of Great Britain, at a treaty held about thirty years ago, with Sir William Johnson): then the line runs along the river Niagara to Lake Erie; then along Lake Erie to the northeast corner of a triangular piece of land which the United States conveyed to the State of Pennsylvania as by the President's patent dated the third day of March 1792; then due south to the northern boundary of that State; then due east to the southwest corner of the land sold by the Seneka Nation to Oliver Phelps; and then north and northerly along Phelp's line to the place of beginning on Lake Ontario.

Besides the delimitation of their lands the Six Nations were allowed "in consideration of the peace and friendship hereby established," goods to the value of $10,000, and an annuity of $3,000 added to that which they had previously been receiving.

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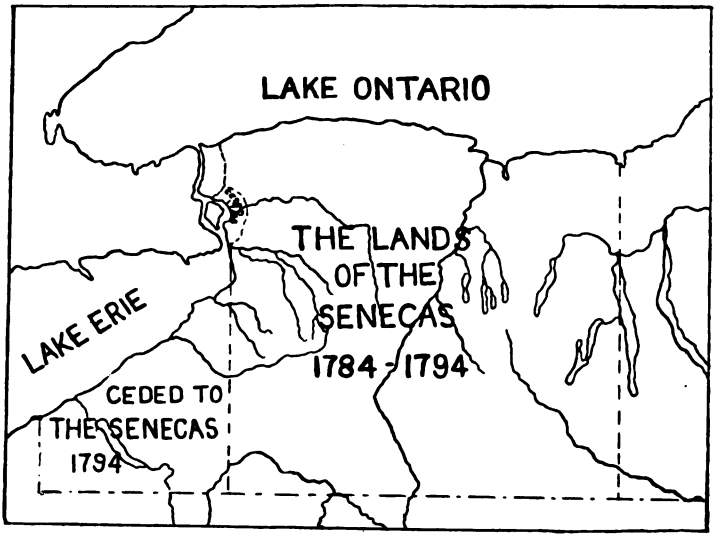
The lands of the Senecas, thus finally delimited, comprised all that portion of New York State west of the Genesee River and a line drawn from the confluence of the Canaseraga and Genesee, due south to the Pennsylvania line. Two tracts were not included in this. One was the Mill tract on the western side of the Genesee River at Rochester, the other the tract four miles wide on the eastern bank of the Niagara, granted to Sir William Johnson. All this domain was to "remain theirs until they should choose to sell the same to the people of the United States who have the right to purchase."



The Lands of the Senecas defined in the Treaties of 1784 and 1794.

This treaty was so eminently satisfactory to the Senecas, the desire of the United States to be just, so evident, and Mr. Pickering's manner so conciliatory, that from that time the allegiance of these tribesmen was transferred from their long-time allies, the English, to the United States; and it has never since wavered.

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CHAPTER X.

THE HOLLAND PURCHASE.

It will be remembered that when Massachusetts had received in its compromise with New York the pre-emptive right to the lands of western New York, it had immediately sold this right to Messrs. Phelps and Gorham, representing a company. Mr. Phelps had soon after met the Indian owners of the land at Buffalo Creek and had there purchased from them all that portion east of the Genesee River and a line drawn from the confluence of the Canaseraga and Genesee, due south to the Pennsylvania line. When the time of payment to Massachusetts was due Phelps and Gorham were unable to make their payments, and Massachusetts brought suit against them.

Before any action was taken another purchaser for the lands appeared. This was Mr. Robert Morris, of Philadelphia. In the bargaining which followed, Phelps and Gorham retained that portion of the land east of the Genesee, the Indian claim to which they had already extinguished. The remaining portion they re-conveyed to Massachusetts, which in 1791, in consideration of $225,000, conveyed the pre-emptive right to Mr. Morris. This tract, comprising all western New York, was conveyed to Mr. Morris in five deeds; and of these five parcels, he sold in 1793, four, comprising 3,600,000 acres to Herman LeRoy and others, trustees for a party of capitalists in Amsterdam, Holland, reserving one parcel next the Phelps tract for himself. It was stipulated that Mr. Morris should extinguish the Indian claim to the tract thus purchased.

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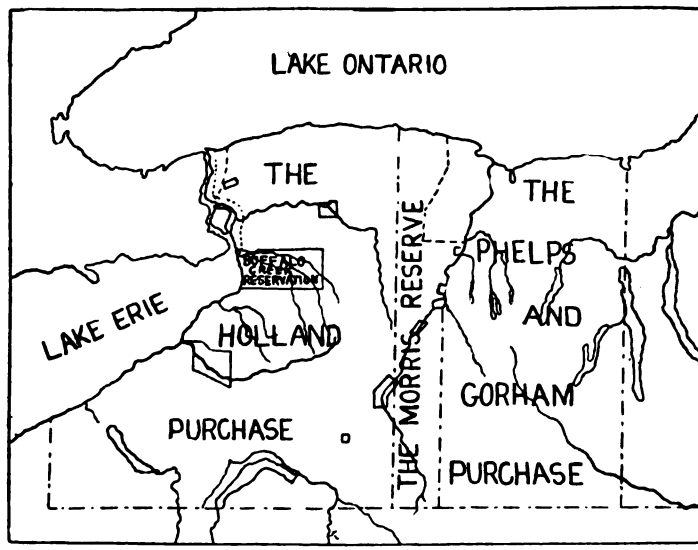
The task of purchasing these lands from their Seneca owners was assigned to Mr. Thomas Morris, son of Robert Morris. The lands conveyed in the five parcels comprised all the lands which in the Canandaigua Conference the following year were allotted to the Seneca Nation, and it was with the chiefs of this nation that Mr. Morris must negotiate. During the following three years he personally visited the leading Seneca chiefs, and finally persuaded them to meet in council at Big Tree's village near the present Geneseo, to consider the sale of their lands.



The Land Purchases in Western New York, showing the Reservation at Buffalo Creek.

The conference was convened in September, 1797. Besides the Morrises, there were present Mr. Jeremiah Wadsworth, United States Commissioner, and Mr. William Shepherd, Commissioner representing Massachusetts.

From the beginning the sachems and chiefs opposed

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the sale of their lands. So unanimous was this opposition that Red Jacket finally kicked out the council-fire and dissolved the council. Morris however, not entirely hopeless, then negotiated with the women and the warriors, and through their efforts the council-fire was rekindled and the conference continued. As a result, the Senecas sold their entire holdings in New York to Robert Morris, exempting, however, from the sale certain tracts for their own use. These tracts were called reservations, one being the Buffalo Creek Reservation.

The land exempted by the Senecas was divided into parcels, each surrounding, or adjacent to, certain existing villages of the Senecas, and each was to accommodate the inhabitants of these villages. Part of these reserved lands lay in the Genesee Valley where many of the Senecas were still domiciled. Others were established in Western New York where, as has already been shown, numerous settlements existed.

The Genesee reservations were strung like beads along the Genesee River. At the present village of Avon, the village of Canawaugus was allotted two square miles. Little Beard's town, Chenussio, at the present village of Moscow, received two square miles. At Squawky Hill, the present Mount Morris, two square miles were laid off in a rectangle which had a mile frontage on the Genesee. A well-defined but unmeasured parcel was laid out at Gardeau; and the village of Caneadea, which straggled along the east side of the Genesee nearly from the present Caneadea, to the present village of Houghton, was allowed a frontage on the river of eight miles with a depth of two miles.

Much larger tracts were exempted in western New York. To accommodate the villages at the Cattaraugus Creek, a tract was reserved along the shore of Lake Erie from the mouth of Eighteen Mile Creek (Koghquauga)

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to the mouth of the Canadaway Creek above Dunkirk, with a depth of a mile, and besides, there were two prolongations; one twelve miles long and a mile wide up the Cattaraugus; the other, one mile long and a mile wide up Canadaway Creek. The villages at the great bend of the Allegheny River received a tract of forty-two square miles, and two hundred square miles were to be allotted partly at Buffalo Creek, partly at Tonawanda Creek. Besides these which were definitely mentioned in the contract, there were two parcels which the Senecas later claimed to have been exempted, but which did not appear in the deed. These parcels, which later were to cause some dispute, were the tracts surrounding the Tuscarora village above Lewiston, and a small tract containing a certain well-known oil spring near the present village of Cuba.

After the deed had been recorded, the discovery was made that no provision had been made for the Tuscaroras who, at that time, were well established in a village on the Mountain Ridge about half way between Lewiston and Pekin. They expostulated with the Senecas, whose relation to them in the National Council of the Confederacy was as father to an adopted son. Realizing the omission, the Senecas executed a deed, March 30, 1808, by Cornplanter, Farmer's Brother, Halftown, Red Jacket and others, giving the Tuscaroras a square mile of land surrounding their village. This deed, now recorded in the County Clerk's office of Niagara County, recites that this tract has been reserved at the sale of lands. No such exemption occurs in the deed, but to avoid any trouble, the Holland Land Company ratified this grant and added two square miles in addition.

For many years, a spring which oozed from the side of a steep hill a short distance northwest of the present village of Cuba, had been widely known amongst the

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Indians because of the medicinal quality of the petroleum which covered the waters. After the sale of their land the Senecas continued to resort there, and always considered it their property. Eventually, buildings were erected there by a white man named Paterson. Action was brought to eject him, and this was finally decided in favor of the Senecas. This decision was due to a deposition made by an aged Seneca named Blacksnake, who produced a map which he claimed had been given to the Seneca sachems by Joseph Ellicott, defining the reservations, amongst which marked in red, was the Oil Spring. This map is now on file in the office of the County Clerk of Cattaraugus County.

There is no doubt that all these reservations were thus located because of pre-existent Seneca villages there. The villages in the Genesee Valley had been occupied for the best part of a century and were well known and seemingly of long duration. The Allegheny Valley was dotted with Seneca villages from at least as far up as the Tunaengwant Creek, where stood the village of that name mentioned by Mary Jemison as existing there before the Revolution. Below this, there were villages in New York as far as the state line, and beyond this, numerous colonies stretched from Buccaloons, near the mouth of the Little Brokenstraw Creek, to a point well below Pittsburgh. These villages as far north as Buccaloons, had been destroyed in 1777 by Colonel Broadhead, who had coöperated with General Sullivan in the destruction of the Seneca towns. The reservation of the Allegheny covered as many of these villages as existed inside New York State. Pennsylvania had already granted to Cornplanter a small reservation just south of the line surrounding his village there.

The Tuscarora Reservation is identical with the territory occupied by old Neuter villages, the most eastern

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of which is now marked by a site locally known as Kienuka, on the Williams Farm near the Dickersonville road. There had been, evidently, clearings along the brow of the escarpment at this point from the days of the Neuters; and when the Tuscaroras, after the terrible winter of 1779, cast about for a new place of settlement, they selected the land immediately about this ancient village site and this served as the nucleus of the land later reserved for them.

The valley of the Tonawanda seems to have been inhabited by Seneca Indians for a long time previous to the Revolution. Pouchot's map shows a village at the bend of the Tonawanda Creek, but of this early occupation, nothing at all is now known.

As has already been said, the valley of Buffalo Creek had been the seat of a numerous population at least since late pre-historic times and evidently the clearings made by the villages of the Wenros were reoccupied, at times at least, by the Senecas, who certainly made some permanent villages there. Nearly all these villages were included in the tract allotted as the Buffalo Creek Reservation. One village, however, that at South Wales, was so far removed from the others that it was not included in the reservation.

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CHAPTER XI.

THE BUFFALO CREEK RESERVATION.

Of all the tracts reserved from the Morris purchase, that on the Buffalo Creek was the largest. Unlike the reservations on the Genesee, no definite boundaries had been set in the deed of 1797 limiting it, and even the size was indefinite, the extent of this and the Tonawanda Reservation having been included in one item of two hundred square miles.

In October, 1798, it was laid out by Mr. Augustus Porter, under the direction of Joseph Ellicott, while surveying the Holland Land Company's tract; and it appears on Ellicott's map of 1802. Eight years later, its boundaries were noted in a deed (No. 1, of deeds, Erie County Clerk's office, page 68) given by the Holland Company, conveying to David Ogden, the lands of the reservation as follows:

Boundaries of the Buffalo Creek Reservation: On the north in part by lands now or late belonging to William Willink, Nicholas Van Staphorst, Peter Van Eghen, Hendrik Vollenhoven and Rutger Jan Schimmelpenninck, designated on said map as township No. 11 of the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th ranges, and in part by land now or late belonging to William Welling (*sic*), Jan. Willink, William Willink, the younger, Jan. Willink, the younger; on the east in part by the said township No. 11 of the 5th range and township No. 10 of the 4th range, also now or late belonging to William Willink, Nicholous Van Staphorst, Peter Van Eghen, Hendrik Vallenhouen, Rutger Van Schimmelpenninck; on the north (*sic*) by township No. 9 of the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th ranges, and in part by lands now or late belonging to said William Willink, Jan. Willink, William Willink, the younger, and Jan. Willink, the younger, and westerly by in part by a small strip of land lying between the premises hereby intended to be described, and Lake Erie; and northeasterly by the above mentioned township No.

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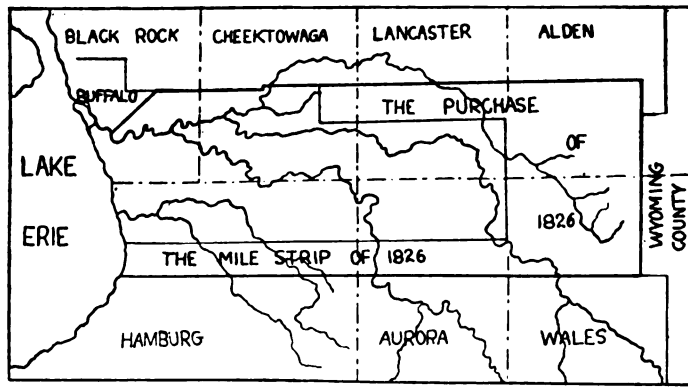
11 of the 8th range containing eighty-three thousand and five hundred and fifty-seven (83557) acres, be the same more or less.

The east line of the Reservation thus described is in the east boundary of Erie County, lying between Marilla and Bennington, Wyoming County, and in a small part of Alden.



The Buffalo Creek Reservation, showing original boundaries and the purchase of 1826.—*From Burr's N. Y. Atlas*, 1841.

The south line is in the southern boundaries of Elma and Marilla, and in the Benzing road at Webster's Corners, at East Hamburg, and in the southern boundaries of lots 33, 34, 37, 38, 41, 10, 1 in West Seneca.

The north line is in the northern boundary of the southern tiers of lots of Alden, the southern tiers of lots of Lancaster and Cheektowaga, to a point in lot 15, in Cheektowaga, thence south to William Street, and west on William Street to Lewis Street, where it bends to the southwest.

This differs from the boundaries originally intended in that the northern line, which was to have been run due west so that the line of the New York reservation should be within the tract thus reserved, was bent at an angle to the southwest, so as to leave the mouth of the

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creek outside of the reservation. This change was due to the perspicacity of Joseph Ellicott, who foresaw the future importance of Buffalo River as a port and the necessity of having its control in the hands of the whites. To secure the consent of the Senecas to this change, he engaged the services of Captain Johnston, heretofore mentioned, who had great influence with the Senecas. He had received from the Senecas a grant of land two miles square at the mouth of the river and had built thereon a house. Through his efforts the Senecas consented to change the boundary, and this change is noted in the deed of 1810, bounding the tract. The westerly boundary is "In part by a small strip of land lying between the premises hereby intended to be described and Lake Erie." This small strip was the somewhat triangular parcel lying between the lake, the New York State Reservation and the Buffalo Creek Reservation. A small strip indeed, but it was the most important of the lands thus deeded.

In its changed form, the Buffalo Creek Reservation appears on a modern map of western New York as a broad strip running east and west entirely across Erie County. Its eastern line is mainly in the line between Wyoming and Erie counties, between the townships of Marilla and Bennington. A short portion is in the town of Alden in the western line of lots 9 and 10.

Its southern line is in the southern boundaries of the towns of Marilla and Elma and in the northern line of lots 72, 64, 8, 16, 24, 32, and 40 running through Webster's Corners and keeping on the Benzing road to East Hamburg and north lines of lots 48, 56, 8, 16 and 24 of Hamburg. It strikes the lake shore at Bay View.

The western boundary was the water line of Lake Erie from Bay View to a point on the beach just west of a bridge over the ship canal at the foot of Louisiana Street. This is the eastern end of the south line of lot 50, and

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also of the line of the old First ward of Buffalo. From this point, the reservation line runs in this line of lot 50 to the creek, thence keeping, seemingly, to the left or south bank, it follows the creek bank to a point in lot 65, whence it crossed the creek. From this point, it lies in the line of the old First ward to the foot of Porter street. From Porter Street, the line is the east line of the old First ward to the corner of Eagle Street and Fillmore Avenue, thence to a point on William Street near the corner of Metcalf Street.

This line is indicated in the "Village of Black Rock, Street Record, 14," in the authorization of a survey of a road to Hamburg Street, "on the Indian reservation line north forty-six degrees, eighty-one chains to angle in Indian reservation line, thence east ninety-nine chains to town of Amherst, four rods wide, two rods on each side of the Indian reservation line, this declared to be a public highway."

In 1835, this road was surveyed and established from Buffalo Creek, four rods wide on the Indian reservation line, north forty-five degrees, forty-six and nine-tenths chains to Elk Street, thence forty-three chains to Seneca Street, thence eighty-one chains to William Street, thence east ninety-nine chains to the town line of Amherst.

Later this line was centered in "Ferry Street" which included the section of the highway authorized above, from Elk Street to William Street at the angle of the reservation line. In 1856 the Buffalo City records show that a road laid out in 1835 along the Indian reservation line from Abbott Road to Buffalo Creek was declared a public highway, called Ferry Street. This appears to be occupied now by the Erie Railway. From the Abbott Road the line now seems to be in the Erie Railway's tracks as far as a curve at Fitzgerald Street, which was originally intended to be laid out from Elk Street to the

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City Line or to Ferry Street parallel to Hamburg Street. At Fitzgerald Street the line seems to be in or near a spur of the Erie Railway running into the furnaces of the Buffalo Union Iron Works.

The northern line of the reservation seems to be in William Street as far as the junction of this street and a road at lot 15 in Cheektowaga. The line then turns to the northeast corner of lot 64 thence due east to the northeast corner of lot 23 in Alden, the place of beginning.

Of the tracts thus reserved by the Senecas to accommodate their people, that at Buffalo Creek was by far the largest and most important, and it is probable that the main body of Senecas were here resident at that time. No records are available of the number living here at the time of its exemption, and it was not until 1817 that even an approximate estimate of the number was made. In that year the Rev. Timothy Alden visited the Reservation and reported that there was "about seven hundred Senecas, sixteen Munsees, some Onondagas and Cayugas and some Squakies." The identity of these "Squakies" is unknown or at least problematical. They seem to have been part or all of a band which at one time lived at Mount Morris, at "Squaky Hill." Attempts have been made to identify them with a captive colony of Sacs or Sauks from Michigan. Attempts have also been made to identify them with the "Squawkihows" of one of the Iroquois traditions, and to identify these with "Kah-Kwahs," but as the identity of these latter is also unknown this identification fails.

By Munsees Mr. Alden must have meant Delaware Indians, of whom the Munsees (Minsis) were one branch. He was very familiar with most of the tribes of the eastern United States and was probably entirely correct in noting this band of Delawares on Buffalo Creek. It is possible that these were part of a band under "Captain

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Smoke" which fled from the Ohio country in 1791 and sought refuge at Buffalo Creek. Colonel Proctor mentions a council here when he visited Buffalo Creek in May of that year, called to allot lands to this band. Their decision was, however, to locate them on the Cattaraugus, and a Delaware village certainly was located there, near the present Thomas School, in 1802.

On the other hand, another band of refugees, also allotted lands on Buffalo Creek at that council are unaccounted for on Mr. Alden's list. This was a band of Mississaugas (Chipeways), the families of Connondoghta and Bear Oil, which had fled from Conyatt, Ohio. This band seems identical with one which lived for a time on a sandy knoll crowning a high bluff in a bend of Conneaut River, just opposite the present Conneaut. There was an embankment there, and there still exist traces of Indian occupancy. Local tradition ascribes this site to a band of Mississaugas. In 1789 there was an Indian village there called by the French *"Villejoye."*

There seems to have been a small band of Stockbridge Indians, Mahicans from the Hudson, located on the Reservation. The only knowledge of these is the fact that the east part of Ebenezer is said by Mr. Marshall to have been called Sha-ga-na-ga-geh, "The place of the Stockbridges."

The Onondagas seem to have formed a relatively large group, and to have comprised a large part of the Onondaga Nation. Colonel Proctor visited their village in 1791 and noted that it consisted of twenty-eight good cabins. Their chief was Big Sky, or Clear Sky.

This diverse population was loosely grouped about certain centers. Although the entire reservation was dotted with scattered cabins and clearings, at certain places these were clustered into groups large enough to be considered villages. Mainly these centered about the

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homes of prominent persons and many took their English names from these persons. Thus, the village at Gardenville was Jack Berry's town, just as two villages on the Genesee were Big Tree's and Little Beard's villages, and just as a century before the villages in which Father Fremin lived was called by him Ononkenritouai, after the chief who lived there.

Of these clusters of houses, villages, so called, the most prominent seems to have been that which surrounded the home of Red Jacket. This group straggled along the paths which are now Seneca Street and Indian Church Road, mainly centered about the present Seneca Indian Park. Here, at least in later years, was their cemetery and here were built their mission house, school and church. All these occupied the sightly elevation upon which still stood the embankment marking an ancient Wenro fortified town. Through this group ran the main path from the Lake to the upper valley of Cazenovia Creek, which met at this point a path which led from Jack Berry's town and the upper valley of Buffalo Creek.

The group called Jack Berry's town centered about the home of a half-breed of that name, or in Seneca Do-eh-saw, who had come from Little Beard's town on the Genesee and reared his home on the bank of Buffalo Creek at what is now Gardenville.

On Buffalo Creek above Berry's town there were several clusters of cabins. One of these at what is now Blossom was called Dyo-nah-da-eeh, "hemlock elevation." Another was at the present Elma village, and another at East Elma. At this latter place lived chief Big Kettle, who had removed hither from Squaky Hill, and several other prominent men. A nearly forgotten cemetery near East Elma is the last resting-place of many of these.

On Cazenovia Creek there was one group, at the ford, now the bridge, connecting Potter Road and Seneca

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Street, a mile west of Ebenezer. This in 1791 was Big Sky's village of Onondagas, which straggled along the paths, from what is now the "Red Bridge" on Potter Road to the ford. On the east bank of the creek stood the council house of the Six Nations, and on a terrace on the opposite side of the creek was their cemetery.

The Cayugas who in 1779 had joined the Senecas in their flight from their ruined homes seem to have established themselves in a straggling village on Cayuga Creek at the extreme northern edge of the Reservation, at the corner of William Street and Cayuga Road.

Besides these clusters there were innumerable cabins scattered along the creeks, mostly on the terraces or higher lands above flood level. A few of these were homes of prominent people. Thus, chief Pollard lived on a terrace, on or near the site of the ancient village on the farm of Mr. Hart on the Potter Road, and chief Silverheels lived on what was later the Twichell farm on Abbott Road, near Cazenovia Park.

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CHAPTER XII.

HOME LIFE ON THE BUFFALO CREEK RESERVATION.

During the century which had elapsed since Governor Denonville had burned the long bark houses in the Seneca villages of Canagora and Totiakton material changes had taken place in Seneca architecture. The long communal house, built of bark and capable of housing many families, was giving place to small houses designed for one family only, and many of these were well built of hewn logs or even mill-sawed lumber after the pattern of the better class of pioneer structures.

Just when or how this change was accomplished is unknown, but that it was gradual is certain. Probably the increasing familiarity of the Senecas with the English and Dutch in the Hudson River settlements, and the establishment in the Seneca country at Geneva of an English trading-post with a few European houses, had their gradual influence upon the thought of the three generations of Senecas which bridged the century between 1687 and 1780. It is certain that communal bark houses were in use as late as 1779 in the Allegheny Valley where they were found and described by Colonel Brodhead. He reported that in some towns he found houses large enough to accommodate three or four families but that the greatest part of the Indian houses were of square or round logs and framework.

In the Genesee country the better houses seem to have been the rule. General Sullivan's army found many of the villages made up of log houses. At "Chemoung," a town 15 miles up the "Cayouga" branch of the Susque-

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hanna River, they found "forty houses built chiefly with split and hewn timbers covered with bark and some other rough materials without chimneys or floors."

A curious survival of the long house was to be seen in the council house of the Tonawanda band of Senecas as late as 1818. In that year the Rev. Timothy Alden attended a meeting there and considered the building interesting enough to describe:

> The council house is fifty feet long and twenty wide. On each side of it longitudinally is a platform a little more than one foot high and four feet wide, covered with furs which furnish a convenient place for sitting, lounging and sleeping. . . . Over the platform is a kind of gallery, five or six feet from the floor, which is loaded with peltry, corn, implements of hunting and a variety of other articles. At each end of the building is a door, and near each door within, was a council fire, which would have been comfortable for the coldest weather in winter, but at this time, when the mercury in Fahrenheit's themometer must have ranged from eighty to ninety degrees, was very oppressive. Over each fire several large kettles of soup were hanging and boiling. The smoke was conveyed away through apertures in the roof and did not annoy.

This description would have fitted almost exactly a long house inhabited by Senecas a century before.

Contrasted with this rather primitive type of house, the council-house of the Senecas on the Buffalo Creek at that time was quite modern. Mr. Alden described it as being 42 feet long and 18 feet wide, well made of hewn logs, shingled and glazed, and provided with seats and a good chimney.

During the last years of the Buffalo Creek Reservation many of the Seneca houses were of framed construction, evidently equal in all respects to those of the whites near by. Several of these are noted on the survey of improvements made by Mr. Sperry in 1844 as being near the Indian Church.

The change from the communal long house to the log

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or frame house inhabited by a single family must have had a strong effect upon the life of the Senecas. In the old days a long house might have contained twenty or more families, each domiciled in one or more cubicles formed by building two partitions of bark from the outer wall of the house inward to the corridor which ran from end to end of the house. Each cubicle was open at the side next to the corridor, and was furnished with low platforms raised above the floor and stored with furs. On these the family slept. Overhead was a rack or low open loft for the storage of corn, peltry and all spare articles. On the earthen floor in the corridor were fires for cooking or heat. Smoke was supposed to go out of holes in the roof.

Each house was built by, and was inhabited by, women of one clan and their children of the same clan, with their husbands who belonged to some other clan. These were presided over by some matron of the house; and everything in it or entering it was, theoretically and even in actual practice, in common, excepting possibly a few personal articles. All the women of the house united in cultivating their fields and doing the simple housework necessary.

Life in the single family house must have presented great contrasts to this. The single house was made of logs which were too heavy for women to handle, therefore the men were constrained to build the cabins. The idea of clan relationship would suffer by the change. Instead of a long house with many persons of one clan with very few outsiders, there was the single house with one family of two clans. Life thus became based upon the family idea rather than the clan idea.

The old idea of a village was a small group of long communal houses surrounded by wide cultivated fields. Of this type were such villages as Totiakton of 1677,

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which had 120 houses, some being 50 or 60 feet long with 12 or 13 fires in each. After the adoption of the single house each family was inclined to separate from the others, clear a space for its field and there build a house. Villages of the type of Totiakton were thus impossible. This led the way to individual ownership rather than communal life.

The old idea of the fire on the floor and a hole in the roof survived, as was seen by Mr. Alden in the Tonawanda Council House, yet at the same time the Buffalo Creek Council House had its fires in fire-places at the ends with chimneys. A survival of the old type is to be seen in the cooking house attached to one of the council houses on the Grand River in Canada and to that at Newtown on the Cattaraugus. In both these a hole in the roof allows the smoke to escape from the fire beneath.

The adoption of the frame house brought the necessity of saw-mills, and several of these were established at an early period. Of these the Hemstreet mill at East Elma was a type. This supplied not only the better class of Indians with lumber, but took their timber at a fair price, sawed it and sold it to the settlers off the Reservation.

The Senecas had always been farmers, and their farm products constituted their main source of food, supplemented by such animal food as could be secured by their hunters in the nearby forests and waters. At their new settlements on the Buffalo Creek their farms continued to be the chief source of their food.

In the narrative of the Gilbert family mention was made of how the Seneca refugees to Buffalo Creek began their farming operations. The women of the family cleared their land of underbrush while the men hacked or burned down the forest trees which shaded the ground. Amongst the stumps in the virgin soil thus

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prepared the women planted corn, squashes, beans, pumpkins and potatoes. The women of the family then undertook the work of caring for the crop. In the new soil which was not yet infested by weeds this would have been no great task. So slight a task was it that Elizabeth Peart was assigned the task of caring for a crop of corn during the entire summer, although she was seriously ill much of the time. All the work of breaking the ground, planting and tilling the crops would probably have been done with hoes. In the old days these would have been blades of flat bones, of antler or stone, fastened by thongs, adze fashion, upon wooden handles. These had long since been supplanted by light iron or steel blades helved like our old-fashioned "German hoes." These were imported by the Senecas as early at least as 1700, for on the village sites of that period and later they are rather abundant. The refugees on Buffalo Creek would hardly have brought hoes with them from their Genesee homes, and so must have been dependent for these upon the English at Fort Niagara. In 1781 Abner Gilbert mentioned that he accompanied an officer to Buffalo Creek where he distributed hoes to the settlers. Yet there is little doubt that many of the women resorted to the ancient home-made tools.

The corn crop was gathered by the women. This would have been done in their accustomed manner, by walking through the ripened crop, pulling the ears from the stalks and throwing them into baskets slung over their shoulders. These ears would then have been braided together and suspended from the rafters of their home. Later they would be shelled and the corn parched or pounded into meal or hulled for hominy.

The beans and squash or pumpkins would have been planted amongst the corn and cultivated with it. The crop of "potatoes" mentioned in the Gilbert narrative is

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the first and, I think, the only one ever mentioned in connection with the Senecas of this period. Whether they were our white potatoes, or wild tubers, "artichokes," *(helianthus tuberosa)* is a question, but judging from the context, they probably were our white potatoes.

The Gilberts mentioned especially the journey which their whole family made to a maple grove up the lake. Here they stayed for several weeks making maple sugar.

The vegetable products would have been supplemented by such animal food as their hunters and fishermen could provide. In the unexhausted forests and streams about them, the hunters could and probably did find an abundant supply of fresh food, far more than their families were accustomed to in their Genesee Valley homes. Fish and wild fowl especially must have been abundant in their season. Wild pigeons, passenger pigeons seemingly, were a source of abundant food. The Gilbert children were detained for some time after their release was ordered because news had been received of a great pigeon roost fifty miles away which the men of their family promptly visited. In 1791 Colonel Proctor was feasted at the Onondaga village of Big Sky, at the ford of Cazenovia Creek, on Potter Road. The principal food consisted of young pigeons, some boiled, some stewed. "Their method of dishing them up was that a hank of six were tied with a deer's sinew round their necks, their bills pointing outward; they were plucked, but of their pin feathers, there were plenty remained; the inside was taken out, but it appeared from the soup made of them that water had not touched them before." He spoke of pigeon roosts near the village, and mentioned seeing a basket full of squabs in one house. Of these he said: "These they commonly take when just prepared to leave the nest and as fat as is possible for them to be

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made; when after they are plucked and cleaned a little, they are preserved by smoke and laid by for use."

Deer and bear seem to have been fairly abundant. Mr. Orlando Allen in the later days of the Reservation, on a ride to the Onondaga village, surprised a buck in an open glade just beyond the Indian church. He was so engrossed in feeding that he failed to hear the horse's approach and Mr. Allen was able to gallop alongside him and strike him with his whip. Immediately afterwards he encountered an Indian hunter armed with bow and arrows, who upon hearing of the buck, promptly set off on his track. Mr. Allen mentions the appearance of a swarm of black squirrels and says that Indian boys killed hundreds of them with bows and arrows.

A century and a half of contact with Europeans had almost entirely abolished the ancient methods of fashioning clothing from peltry, and had made the Senecas dependent upon the weavers of Europe for the materials wherewith to make their clothes.

In the primitive times antedating the advent of the European traders, the Senecas probably used clothing as the Neuters certainly did, only for warmth but not at all for the sake of decency, and seldom for adornment. Consequently in hot weather they wore a minimum of clothing. For warmth in winter a robe of fur sufficed the men, supplemented by a pair of moccasins and leggings. These latter were worn at all seasons for protection. No description of a Seneca woman's ancient costume is available. Undoubtedly however, their clothing was of fur or of skin, prepared after the Indian fashion, and of a mode similar to that of later days. Certainly the women were clever workers in fur and skin, and there is no doubt that their clothing would have been ornamented by pleasing designs applied in colored moose-hair or porcupine quills.

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In making clothing from skins, the Indian women used chert blades for cutting them into shape, and awls and flat needles made of bone with sinew thread, for sewing them.

More efficient tools for dressmaking were imported very early, and in the early lists of trade articles appear large invoices of awl blades, needles and shears. These are still often found in refuse earth or graves of the early sites.

From the very beginning of their intercourse with Europeans the Senecas bought cloth, mainly duffles, strouds, osnabrigs, and later even laces and broadcloth. These goods were taken to their villages, there to be made up into clothing.

After the introduction of cloth, the Seneca women made their clothes from this, seemingly following the patterns of their previous skin garments, and these modes seem to have persisted until the Reservation days.

The clothing of this period is best illustrated by the articles of clothing collected by Mr. Lewis H. Morgan and deposited in the State Museum, and pictured in use by Mr. and Mrs. Mountpleasant. Distinctive features of the costumes of both men and and women were the leggings. These have persisted amongst the older women until the present day.

Along with the cloth imported to be made up into garments the traders brought in made-up garments. These were mainly knitted stockings and caps, and heavy blankets. These latter took the place of the fur robes as outer garments.

There exist several minute descriptions of the dress of the Senecas on the Reservation. At the conference of 1791, Young King appeared in the full uniform of an English colonel. Colonel Proctor speaks of the fine appearance of the Onondaga women, some of whom were dressed in silken strouds ornamented with silver trap-

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pings. He estimated the value of one suit at about thirty pounds sterling.

Intercourse with Europeans had wrought a very material change in the adornments of the persons and clothing of the Senecas. Before the advent of the traders, their ornaments were few and extremely primitive. Judging only from the contents of their refuse heaps, their ornaments consisted only of a few beads and pendants rudely fashioned from bone, from the teeth of animals and from stone. None of these were colored, and for color they must have been confined to a few simple dyes applied to the skins from which they made their clothing. It is no wonder, therefore, that they eagerly bought the really beautiful, highly-colored glass beads, the shining kettles of yellow brass and the beautifully colored blankets and fabrics imported by the traders. Glass beads are almost the first European articles to appears on Seneca sites. Brass kettles seem at first to have been too precious and beautiful to be used over the fire, and were cut up into pendants of various kinds.

In their use of color in their clothing and ornaments the Senecas evinced a natural good taste. In choosing and combining colors they seem always to have achieved a harmony pleasing to Europeans. Their use of beads in working out motives of design on cloth or skin was noted for the harmony of color, the adaptation of the materials to their ultimate use, and the choice of excellent designs. These combined with clever workmanship to render even their humblest and most homely article a work of art, and a delight to the eye.

At about the same time that the Senecas began to import glass beads, they began also to receive shell wampum from the coastal Algonkian tribes. This wampum is a tiny cylindrical bead a quarter of an inch long and an eighth of an inch or less thick, made of the shell of the

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ocean clam. It was of two colors, white and purple. This wampum did not appear amongst the Senecas until after the advent of Europeans, but thereafter it became very abundant. As a personal adornment it was strung either alone or with glass beads, in making necklaces or hair oranments; or it was sewed on bands of skin or woven in bands made of sinew or bark thread and used for fillets, belts, baldrics or garters. Similar strings and belts were used as media of exchange, and very commonly as records or reminders of speeches, messages, and treaties. Wampum still exists on the Seneca reservations and is used ceremonially in various ways.

The best description of personal adornments was written by a very discerning observer, a Miss Ann Powell who in 1789, visited a council of the Six Nations at Buffalo Creek. She spoke of a "young squaw" who was weaving "a sort of worsted garter intermixed with beads." She thought that she was a lady of distinction "for her ears were bored in four different places, with ear-rings in them all." She particularly noted Captain David who reminded her of "some of Homer's finest heroes:"

> His person is tall and fine as it is possible to conceive, his features handsome and regular, with a countenance of much softness, his complexion was disagreeably dark, and I really believe he washes his face, for it appeared perfectly clean without paint; his hair was all shaved off except a little on the top of his head to fasten his ornaments to; his head and ears painted a glowing red; round his head was fastened a fillet of highly polished silver; from the left temple hung two straps of black velvet covered with silver beads and brooches. On the top of his head was fixed a Foxtail feather, which bowed to the wind, as did a black one in each ear; a pair of immense earrings which hung below his shoulders completed his head-dress, which I assure you was not unbecoming, though I must confess somewhat fantastical.
>
> His dress was a shirt of colored calico, the neck and shoulders

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covered so thick with silver brooches as to have the appearance of a net, his sleeves much like those the ladies wore when I left England, fastened about the arm, with a broad bracelet of highly polished silver, and engraved with the arms of England. Four smaller bracelets of the same kind about his wrists and arms; around his waist was a large scarf of a very dark colored stuff, lined with scarlet, which hung to his feet. One part he generally drew over his left arm which had a very graceful effect when he moved. His legs were covered with blue cloth made to fit neatly, with an ornamental garter bound below the knee. I know not what kind of a being your imagination will represent to you, but I sincerely declare to you, that altogether Captain David made the finest appearance I ever saw in my life.

Another chief affected her differently. "One old man diverted me extremely; he was dressed in a scarlet coat, richly embroidered, that must have been made half a century, with waist-coat of the same, that reached halfway down his thighs, no shirt or breeches, but blue cloth stockings."

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CHAPTER XIII.

RELIGION ON THE BUFFALO CREEK RESERVATION.

Almost nothing is known about the religion of the Senecas before they accepted Christianity or the New Religion expounded by Handsome Lake. The Jesuit missionaries, who of all observers were best fitted to describe religion and its rites, had previously made a study of the religion of the Hurons and other kindred nations and seemingly were no longer interested. After the fruitless efforts of the Jesuits no one interested in religion came into contact with them until they had been well established on Buffalo Creek, and until after they had already been affected by the teaching of Handsome Lake. Yet there is no doubt that they had originally a religion with many elaborate rites, and it is equally certain that Handsome Lake retained in his New Religion many of the beliefs and observances of a long existing primitive religion. Certainly some of the rites now practiced by the "Pagans" at their festivals are survivals of these ancient rites, and in most cases identical with them.

A few observers mentioned or described certain rites which came under their notice on Buffalo Creek which seem to have been survivals of their ancient religion. Mr. Jabez Hyde who lived and worked amongst them as a missionary in 1820 has a little to say about some of these which he had observed.

According to Mr. Hyde the Senecas customarily acknowledged a Supreme Being in their every-day life. They greeted each other ordinarily with "I thank God our preserver I see you alive and in health." All councils opened and closed with thanks to the Creator. Thanks

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were offered him at the termination of a successful hunt. Mr. Hyde seemed positive that they were not idolators but that they thought of the Supreme Being as existing in four persons. "Whether they have reference to the 'Nau-wen ne-u' or his creating or governing the four elements or something else I could never satisfy myself." They addressed these four existences without any name as "the Great incomprehensible God," "the Creator and Governor of all things." They had annually a feast of first fruits, a feast of in-gathering, a yearly sacrifice, and a spring feast. Besides these there were numerous peace offerings by individuals. "They build altars of stone before a tent covered with blankets and burn Indian tobacco within the tent with fire taken from the altar." This tent was made of blankets spread over a framework. Inside was a stone hearth on which was a fire. Such tents and hearths were frequent. It is possible that he confused these with the small sweat bath houses, which were used by the Senecas.

Most of these observations were verified by other visitors. General Dearborn attended a Green Corn Dance at the Onondaga village and described it in detail. Essentially it was, as it still is, a formal thanksgiving for the ingathering of harvest. There were dances by men and dances by women, with feasting on corn and beans. This differed in detail only from the Green Corn Dance which is still celebrated by the "Pagans" on the Cattaraugus Reservation in that it lacked the plum-stone gambling. This was authorized by Handsome Lake and is now a part of the Green Corn ceremonials.

Mr. Buckingham, in 1813, witnessed in Rochester a "White Dog Dance," the yearly sacrifice such as was noted by Mr. Hyde in 1820. It included dances and a feast identical in every particular with those now held every mid-winter on the Cattaraugus Reservation, and

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also the sacrifice of the white dog, the distinguishing rite of this ceremony.

They believed in evil spirits and that death and sickness were caused by evil persons who could control these evil spirits. The influence of these evil spirits and their human controls could be counteracted by conjurors.

As late as 1821 a case of witchcraft on Buffalo Creek culminated in the trial and execution of the alleged witch. A Seneca had fallen ill and because of some peculiarities of his sickness his neighbors concluded that it was caused by witchcraft, and, casting about for the cause, their suspicions rested upon the woman who had nursed the patient. After his death she fled to Canada, but was followed and apprehended there by chiefs from Buffalo Creek. She was tried and found guilty, persuaded to return to the Buffalo Creek Reservation and here she was killed by a chief "So-on-on-gise," Tommy Jemmy, who cut the throat of the prisoner. This case created some excitement in Buffalo. Tommy Jemmy was arrested for murder by the civil officers in Buffalo and after due process of law was indicted for murder. He was defended by Red Jacket, and eventually was freed, the killing having palpably been no murder, but a judicial execution after due trial.

The "conjurors" noted by Mr. Hyde as being able to counteract the influence of evil spirits and persons were evidently identical with the "jugglers" or "sorcerers" mentioned by the Jesuits, and with the "medicine men" mentioned frequently by later whites. There seems to be no English word which will exactly designate these "conjurors," who were undoubtedly members of the secret societies common amongst the Senecas from earliest times until today.

From the beginning, the Senecas had exhibited towards the whites a feeling of hostility and intolerance which

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was manifested most markedly in their attitude towards Christianity. Of all the eastern nations they were the least receptive and least responsive towards the missionaries and their teachings.

Missionary effort began comparatively late amongst them. It was not until 1657 that the first missionary, Father Chaumonot, was assigned to their country and during his stay amongst them his efforts were directed, not to the Senecas, but to a village of captive Hurons and Wenroes located there, many of whom had already embraced Christianity in their own country. He stayed a very short time and he had no successor for eleven years, until Father Fremin was assigned there in 1668. The year following, Father Fremin was joined by Father Julian Garnier, but two years later he was recalled and Father Garnier was aided by Father Raffeix. Because of increased work due to epidemics in the Seneca towns Father Pierron was sent to the largest Seneca town, Canagora. These missionaries made little progress in their work of converting the Senecas and seemingly only through fear of the French did the Senecas either accept or tolerate the priests in their towns. When in 1684 Governor LaBarre planned his stroke against the Senecas these were so infuriated that the missionaries were obliged to abandon their stations and flee to Canada.

After this fruitless attempt at proselytizing, no missionary work seems to have been done amongst the Senecas for a century, until long after their removal to Buffalo Creek. In 1788 the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, although on the friendliest terms with the Seneca leaders, was told flatly that no missionaries were welcome in their villages. This feeling of aloofness was intensified in a very few years by the teachings of one of their own nation, the great Handsome Lake.

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CHAPTER XIV.

HANDSOME LAKE AND HIS GREAT MESSAGE.

The two decades following the expulsion of the Senecas from their homes in the Genesee Valley formed a period of the deepest depression for the nation. Their ancient order of government had been violently overturned through the scattering of the nations of the Confederacy. Their home lands had been devastated, and their sullen anger still burned against the invaders. Piece by piece their lands had been stripped from them. Association with the lowest of the whites had induced drunkenness and licentiousness, and, with them, distressing ailments. These and actual want, due to their inability to obtain a livelihood either in their ancient manner or in that borrowed from the whites, had weakened the nation physically and morally. Family life was of the most casual nature. Their primitive religious rites were falling into disuse and the efforts of the missionaries to substitute for these the Christian religion had been of little avail. The political, social and religious fabric had been violently rent and the Seneca Nation was as "a nation destroyed."

In the midst of this time of trouble arose one who was to be a Messiah, a Moses, who was to guide them, if not to a promised land, at least to better things. This guide was Handsome Lake. As the direct result of the conditions about him, he delivered a message to his people which gave them a new hold upon life, a new confidence and a new hope.

Handsome Lake was a Seneca, born in the Turtle Clan, but seemingly by adoption, a member also of the Wolf

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Clan. Through his mother, he was half-brother to the great Chief Cornplanter, but unlike him, so far as is known, he had no white blood. He was of the Hoyane, "the noble or ruling families," in which was hereditary the most prominent Seneca name, Ska-nya-dah-ri-yoh[1] meaning the beautiful or handsome lake. This name had been given by Dekanahwideh at the time of the formation of the Confederacy to that Seneca chief who had first received from Dekanahwideh the peace message and who had first acceded to his proposal of a great peace.

Prominent though his family was, Handsome Lake himself was in a most miserable condition, when in 1800 there came to him the message which he was to transmit to his people. After a long life of debauchery, he had come to live in the village of his brother, Cornplanter, on the Allegheny River. For four years he had lain on a couch in the cabin of his married daughter, unable to move and sick almost to death of a wasting disease. As he lay, he meditated upon his past life and he was filled with remorse:[2]

Now as he lies in sickness he meditates and longs that he might rise again and walk upon the earth. So he implores the Great Ruler to give him strength that he may walk upon this earth again. And then he thinks how evil and loathsome he is before the Great Ruler. He thinks how he has been evil ever since he had been able to work. But, notwithstanding, he asks that he may again walk.

Now it comes to his mind that perchance evil has arisen because of strong drink and he resolves to use it nevermore. Now he continually thinks of this every day and every hour. Yea, he continually thinks of this. Then a time comes and he craves drink again for he thinks that he can not recover his strength without it.

Now at this time the daughter of the sick man and her husband are sitting outside the house in the shed and the sick man is within alone. The door is ajar. Now the daughter and her

1 The Constitution of the Five Nations, p 87.
2 Parker, "The Code of Handsome Lake."

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husband are cleaning beans for the planting. Suddenly they hear the sick man exclaim, "Niio!" Then they hear him rising in his bed and they think how he is but yellow skin and dried bones from four years of sickness in bed. Then the daughter looks up and sees her father coming out of doors. He totters, and she rises quickly to catch him, but he falls dying. Now they lift him up and carry him back within the house and dress him for burial.

Cornplanter had been notified immediately of his brother Handsome Lake's death and he came with numerous neighbors to mourn over the body. Upon examination, he found on the body a small spot of warmth which seemed to indicate that life still remained. Accordingly he, with others, watched over the body. Slowly the warmth spread until at noon of the following day, after a period of unconsciousness of nearly twenty-four hours, the supposed dead man arose and spoke:

Now then he speaks again saying, "Never have I seen such wondrous visions! Now at first I heard some one speaking. Some one spoke and said, 'Come out a while' and said this three times. Now since I saw no one speaking I thought that in my sickness I myself was speaking but I thought again and found that it was not my voice. So I called out boldly, 'Niio!' and arose and went out and there standing in the clear swept space I saw three men clothed in fine clean raiment. Their cheeks were painted red and it seemed that they had been painted the day before. Only a few feathers were in their bonnets. All three were alike and all seemed middle-aged. Never before have I seen such handsome commanding men and they had in one hand bows and arrows as canes. Now in their other hands were huckleberry bushes and the berries were of every color.

Then said the beings, addressing me, "He who created the world at the beginning employed us to come to earth. Our visit now is not the only one we have made. He commanded us saying 'Go once more down upon the earth and (this time) visit him who thinks of me. He is grateful for my creations, moreover he wishes to rise from sickness and walk (in health) upon the earth. Go you and help him to recover.'"

Having said these things, the three beings gave him of

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the berries which they carried, with which to cure his infirmities and then disclosed to him a message from the Great Ruler which he was ordered to transmit to his people.

For sixteen years he preached this message to his people on the Allegheny, the Cattaraugus, the Buffalo Creek, and the Tonawanda. He was derided and scorned, yet in spite of opposition, so forcefully did he move his people that drunkenness declined, the home virtues revived, the social organization was resumed and the Senecas recrystalized into a nation. Of the sixteen years, ten were spent in Cornplater's village and two at Cold Spring on the Allegheny, where so much opposition developed that he moved with a few followers to the Tonawanda. There he preached to constantly increasing numbers of followers. Yet he became discouraged and at the end was averse to proclaiming his message. At the end of four years, he announced a vision in which the messengers called him to carry their message to Onondaga.

Now it happened that the four messengers appeared to him when the invitation was extended, they the four speakers and messengers of the Great Spirit of the worlds.

Now the first words that they spoke were these, "They have stretched out their hands pleading for you to come and they are your own people at Onondaga."

So now it was that Ganio 'daiio' was bidden the third time to sing his song and this the messengers said would be the last.

Now then he said, "There is nothing to incumber me from fulfilling my call."

That this "last" meant to him that his death was to follow is evident, for he says:

"Thus it happened in the past and it is the truth.

"'I must now take up my final journey to the new world,' he thought, and he was greatly troubled and longed for the home of his childhood and pined to return."

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Reluctantly then he obeyed his call. With a large following he walked to Onondaga, which he reached in great bodily and mental distress. He delivered a short message to the people of Onondaga and then retired to a small cabin in sight of the Council House, where a few days later surrounded by a few of his own people, he died. He was buried under the old council-house at Onondaga, where his grave is now marked by a handsome granite monument.

The message of Handsome Lake is called by the Senecas, the Gaiwiio. It comprises the original message to Handsome Lake supplemented by numerous others which he received in visions and a few explanatory interpretations by later preachers. It was transmitted verbally by Handsome Lake to his followers. Edward Cornplanter's account is:

"The 'Gaiwiio' came from Hodianokdoo Hediohe, the Great Ruler, to the Hadioyageeono, the four messengers. From them it was transmitted to Ganio 'daiio', Handsome Lake who taught it to Syandyogwadi (Owen Blacksnake) and to his own grandson, Sosheowa (James Johnson). Blacksnake taught it to Henry Stevens (Ganishando), who taught it to Sosondawa, Edward Cornplanter. So I know that I have the true words and I preach them," adds Cornplanter.[3]

Cornplanter's version of the "Great Message" is published by the University of the State of New York, in Museum Bulletin 163, edited by Mr. Arthur C. Parker, the state archaeologist. Its present form is that determined upon by a council of its preachers when a uniform form was desired. After conference, Chief John Jacket of Cattaraugus, was delegated to determine upon a form to be used by all. He wrote out in Seneca a form which at a later assembly was memorized by all the preachers. Cornplanter's version is probably a correct rendering of this form.

[3] Parker, "The Code of Handsome Lake."

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The great message is made up of three rather distinct parts. There is a moral code containing definite rules for right conduct, and punishments for those who infringe them. There are numerous examples to show the power of the prophet, and messages received in fortuitous visions, calculated to increase his following. It contains also, short descriptions of certain events in the life of Handsome Lake.

The moral code recognizes a great ruler, Hodianokdoo Hediohe, and the existence of certain messengers between this personage and the Senecas. There are numerous references to an evil being, called in one place "Segoewatha, the Tormentor."

It recognizes the immortality of the soul and it prophesies a happy home after death to those of right living, and an abode of torment to transgressors.

In the rules of conduct, Handsome Lake emphasized most emphatically those relating to the imitation of, or intercourse with, white people. He warned his people against drunkenness, not once, but over and over, and he pictured the misery resulting from drink, and the punishment to be expected by drunkards. This teaching was the first successful temperance crusade in the United States. Fiddling and card-playing were to be punished severely. The fiddler was to play in the hereafter with a red-hot iron bow across the cords of his naked arm. The card-player was to play forever with red- hot iron cards. Church-goers were to be punished by an imprisonment in a red-hot church. Yet he encouraged the Senecas to imitate the whites by building houses, cultivating ground and raising horses and cattle.

He denounced witch-craft and the use of charms; yet he forbade the punishment of witches. Rather, he urged them to cease their sins and confess them either publicly or privately, to the Great Ruler. But for those who con-

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tinued in their sins, he pictured punishment by an eternal bath in a boiling caldron.

Family life he attempted to restore by numerous rules. Men and women were to marry and live together happily. Adultery was to be punished by horrid tortures. Men were forbidden to beat or desert their wives. Abortion was severely condemned. Children were in all cases to be kindly treated. Hospitality and charity were praised as virtues but he was especially severe against scolding, gossiping, and all forms of boastfulness and the stirring up of strife.

He authorized certain ceremonial dances but encouraged the acknowledgement of gratitude to the Great Ruler rather than practicing these ceremonial dances.

This teaching was singularly well adapted to the Senecas of his time. The whole message was delivered in the vernacular by one of their own people, who combined in himself the prestige inherent by reason of the prominence of his family, and by the startling phenomenon attending his own regeneration. His philosophy was that of the Senecas and was based upon well-known habits of mind and of body. His message came at a time of gloom when the nation was ready to receive any word of hope, and it was a protest against the dominance of the white people which was being felt more and more, and which the Senecas despaired of being able to withstand. So, although he met with the open scorn and active opposition which is usual to every reformer, his influence increased during his life and it has persisted for a century after his death. The influence of his teaching upon the Senecas was second only to that of Christianity, and as a result of these two forces, the nation today is divided rather sharply into two parties, the Christian party and the Pagan party. This Pagan party comprises those who are followers of the teachings of Handsome Lake, and

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their rituals, ceremonies and conduct of living are based upon his message. Yet with this are bound up a great number of survivals of those ancient beliefs and ceremonies which constituted the religious ideas of the Stone Age Senecas.

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CHAPTER XV.

EARLY CHRISTIAN TEACHING.

In 1800 the first serious attempts were made to Christianize the Senecas on Buffalo Creek. In October of that year the Rev. Elkanah Holmes reached Buffalo Creek which he called the Seneca Castle. He visited Farmer's Brother, whom he asked to call a council to consider his desire to preach there. The council met in the council-house, about a hundred Senecas being present. Red Jacket, "the second sachem," made the usual introductory speech of welcome. Mr. Holmes then delivered to the gathering a message from the Directors of the Missionary Society, and one from the Oneidas and "Muh he con nuks," and concluded by saying that he was ready to preach to them if they were willing. After a half hour's consideration Red Jacket replied thanking him for his address and signifying their willingness to hear him preach on the following day.

The following day a very heavy rainstorm prevented Mr. Holmes from keeping his appointment with the expectant audience, but on the day after he set out from Buffalo where he had lodged for the "Seneca Castle." The creek was badly flooded and twice he had to cross its swollen stream in a canoe, with his horse swimming behind him, only to find when he had reached his destination that the chiefs had been unable to gather the people and so had been forced to ask him to postpone once more.

The next day, October 20, 1800, he went once more to the "Castle" where he found a large audience awaiting him. Red Jacket again introduced him, first giving the

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customary thanks to the "Great Good Spirit" for the opportunity of hearing him, and adjuring the listeners to give close attention. Mr. Holmes then preached the doctrine of Christ. At the close of his address Red Jacket made a very clever speech, in which he expressed himself satisfied with the good intent of the missionary, although he also expressed surprise that the white people had not themselves followed the teachings of Christ. He assured the missionary that the Senecas would not have been guilty of putting to death such a good teacher. His long and flowery harangue gave the missionary the impression that he was unfavorable toward receiving missionaries.

The next day Mr. Holmes held a meeting in Palmer's tavern in Buffalo, which was attended by Farmer's Brother. At the close of the meeting he made a long speech in which he spoke in a very discouraging manner of the attempts which had been made to educate his grandson after the white man's fashion. The boy had been sent to Philadelphia where he was to have remained for five years, learning the ways of white men. His grandfather visited him there at the end of two years when the boy was about thirteen years old, and he was shocked to find him gambling in a tavern in company with lewd women. He considered this an example of what might be expected should the Senecas decide to receive missionaries.

The next year Mr. Holmes succeeded in obtaining from the New York Missionary Society an appropriation of about $190 with which to found a school on Buffalo Creek. He returned here and began a school building which was never finished, although actual instruction was begun by a Mr. Palmer. In 1803 Mr. Holmes was made a permanent missionary in charge of the Senecas and Tuscaroras. He made his headquarters with the

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Tuscaroras whom he found rather amenable to missionary effort, but visited the Senecas occasionally.

While on one of these parochial visits to Buffalo Creek he was visited by two other missionaries, the Rev. Lemuel Covell and Elder Obed Warren, who were on their way to Canada. They found Elder Holmes awaiting an answer from the Senecas to his proposal to build a school and church on the Reservation. They were in council at that time, but it was not until the end of the third day that their decision was made. Red Jacket then called upon Mr. Holmes with the announcement that the Senecas had agreed to allow a church to be built. He claimed that he had advocated this in the council and seemed to be very friendly to the project.

In 1807 or 1808 Mr. Holmes had a controversy with his society and resigned his charge. After his departure the Senecas became distrustful of the efforts of the missionary societies which were attempting to aid them and refused to have anything further to do with them; and it was not until 1811 that they agreed to receive another missionary. In that year Mr. Alexander preached amongst them but left after a few months. They then invited Mr. Jabez Hyde, a teacher who had accompanied the missionary, and an agent of the New York Missionary Society, to establish a school amongst them. This he did.

For seven years Mr. Hyde kept school on the Reservation and during that time he had a varied but discouraging experience. Pupils were few and irregular, and their stay was usually so brief that no good resulted. The older people did not support it, though they did not actually oppose it. In 1817 the Rev. Timothy Alden, who visited Mr. Hyde, reported that the school consisted of "about thirty boys in as prosperous a state as could be reasonably expected," and that Mr. Hyde had written

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several simple discourses on parts of the Bible which he delivered through an interpreter. Mr. Alden spoke highly of Daniel G. Butrick who, on the day of Mr. Alden's arrival, was setting out for Boston where he was to be ordained. So well did he think of Mr. Butrick's work on Buffalo Creek that he urged the missionary board to assign him here after his ordination.

Mr. Alden called upon Pollard and Young King and asked their aid in arranging for a religious meeting. These seemed entirely in accord for they called a meeting for the following Sunday at Mr. Hyde's school house "'in Seneca as the village on Buffalo Creek is sometimes called." At the appointed time a large audience awaited him. Amongst them was Red Jacket who contrary to expectations raised no objections to the preaching which followed, and which was interpreted by Jacob Jamison. After the preaching Pollard delivered in Seneca a short address of thanks "in a very graceful and eloquent manner."

Not until 1819 could Mr. Hyde note any effect of his work. In that year several young men of good families became convinced that Christianity was superior to their own belief and became regular attendants at the school, and within a few months others followed their lead until the school house was crowded, even some of the older chiefs attending. So successful was the school that the New York Missionary Society decided to enlarge the scope of the work and sent two agents to Buffalo Creek to carry out their plans.

This attempt bade fair to discredit all of Mr. Hyde's work. The agents made a "covenant" with the various nations on the Reservation by which the society was to send teachers, and the Indians were to attend upon instruction, and to advise and counsel with the society. As soon as this agreement had been made, active opposition

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developed. The Senecas split into two factions, one favoring Christianity, the other opposed to it and to everything else emanating from the whites, and favoring a continuance of their ancient religion. The latter party was led by Red Jacket, and they charged that the "covenant" bound the Senecas to the society which would plunder them of their lands. Feeling ran so high that Mr. Hyde was obliged to discontinue his work for a time, yet there seems no doubt that by that time many Senecas had accepted, if not the Christian religion, at least the conditions resulting from Christian teaching.

Mr. Alden re-visited the Reservation the following year, 1820, and reported that Mr. Hyde was still in charge. He did not appear to take the opposition to Mr. Hyde's school as very serious, and thought that although a declaration had been made the year before not to receive Christianity, this was not the feeling of any large party, but rather that it emanated from Red Jacket only. On the contrary he found an increasing number of Senecas in the Christian party. Many of these attended services regularly in their council house and sang hymns in the Seneca language.

During this period of discouraging missionary effort the New York Missionary Society had fulfilled its part of the "covenant" by sending from New York Mr. James Young and his wife, and a Miss Low who was to assist them in educational work on the Reservation. They journeyed to Tuscarora where they were to remain with the resident missionary, Mr. Crane, until a suitable mission house was established at Buffalo Creek. Upon its completion they drove in a two-horse wagon laden with their household belongings to their new home, taking two days for the drive over rough and muddy roads.

Miss Low described the mission house as a two-story log house, the upper floor of which was used as a school. Mr.

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Alden, who returned the following year, describes in some detail not only the house but the work which was being conducted there. The lower story was cut up into comfortable living rooms for the missionary and his family. The upper floor comprised one large room in the center of which was a large chimney. Here were the "fixtures and appurtenances for reading, writing and cyphering, sewing, knitting and spinning." The house was furnished with a "fine toned bell of about 150 pounds weight." The school was opened and closed with prayer and the children sang a hymn in Seneca. Mr. Young taught classes of boys and girls in English, and besides he had a class of young men on two evenings a week for singing. The music seemed to appeal to the Senecas and their voices were good. Mrs. Young and Miss Low taught classes of girls, giving them instruction in sewing and knitting. In the summer there were in attendance about 15 boys and about the same number of girls. In the winter there had been over 45 boys and 25 girls.

In 1820 the mission was transferred from the supervision of the New York Missionary Society to that of the United Foreign Missionary Society which had been organized three years previously by the Presbyterian, the Dutch Reformed, and the Associate Reformed Churches of New York City. This society sent two agents, the Reverend Stephen N. Rowan and the Reverend Henry P. Strong to get the consent of the Indians to the transfer. This they succeeded in doing at a council at Buffalo Creek in December, 1820. The same day two wedding ceremonies were performed, the first on the Reservation. In the first of these Thomas Armstrong and Rebecca Hempferman, both white captives who had lived amongst the Senecas from childhood, were united. At the same time Jonathan, youngest son of Red Jacket, was married to

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Yeck-ah-wak, a Seneca girl who lived on the Cattaraugus Reservation.

The first action of the United Foreign Missionary Society was to remove the Rev. Mr. Hyde and Miss Low. The latter went to New York where she was married shortly afterwards. Mr. Hyde seems to have retained the respect and liking of his Seneca charges and seems to have been doing good work, but his beliefs did not meet the approval of his superiors. He wrote seven hymns in Seneca, and these were in use for some time.

In November, 1821, a missionary arrived at Buffalo Creek in the person of Rev. Thompson S. Harris. He seems to have been tactless, fussy and officious, with little common sense, sympathy for his charges or fitness for his work. His school was constantly broken up by exasperated parents who disapproved of his drastic method of discipline. Yet in the years of his charge he firmly established Christianity, organized a church and a good foundation for future efforts.

Some of this success was undoubtedly due to the influence of the United States Government. In September, 1822, a general council of the Six Nations was held at Buffalo Creek and amongst the matters discussed was the mission work. Letters were read from "Government" praising the chiefs of the Christian party and censuring those of the Pagan party. The next year Mr. Harris submitted a report of his work and of its results to the Secretary of War.

At the time of the report a considerable establishment had grown up. The missionaries comprised Mr. Harris, his wife and an infant; Mr. Young, his wife and one assistant. Mr. Young and his wife lived in the log mission house already described. Mr. Harris lived in a good new frame house built in 1822, large enough to accommodate about twenty children as a boarding school.

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The missionaries had tilled and planted a plot of ground for a garden, and had enclosed twelve acres for an orchard and pasture. This latter incensed the Senecas who dreaded the thought of whites securing a foothold on their lands. Indian boys were taught shoemaking, farming and carpentry. The girls learned sewing, weaving and spinning.

The first persons to be received into the church were baptized on Sunday, April 13, 1823, and received the Holy Communion in an enthusiastic gathering of 150 persons. Mr. Young had translated several hymns into Seneca and the missionaries during this year had 500 copies printed for use in the mission.

The attempts of the missionaries to enclose and cultivate for themselves a piece of land near the mission resulted seriously. The Legislature had passed a law in 1821 prohibiting whites from residing on a reservation. The Pagans, led by Red Jacket, acting under authority of this law, obtained an order of ejectment against the missionaries, and after several fruitless efforts on their part to retain their mission, they closed it and left the Buffalo Creek. Mr. Young never returned, but Mr. Harris after a lapse of a year resumed his work here and in addition took charge of the work at Tuscarora and Cattaraugus.

The church grew gradually. In 1823 the "Register of the Seneca Mission Church organized August 10th, 1823" showed, besides the missionaries, four Indian members. One of these was Seneca White, who proved a steadfast friend of the church. The next year two more were added, one being the very prominent chief Pollard[1]. In

1 Captain Pollard (Waoundawana), seemingly the son of Edward Pollard, an English trader, was a chief and warrior, in command of war parties sent from Niagara against the borders during the Revolution, and the American company of Senecas who operated along the Niagara in the War of 1812. He was prominent in the Treaty of 1838. At all times he seems to have been a kindly, courteous gentleman, respected by his white and Seneca neighbors. He seems to have lived on the north side of Potter Road, called in early surveys, "Pollard's Road," just beyond the city line.

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1825 three members came and the next year five, the next twenty-three and in 1828 nine.

In 1828 the congregation decided to build a church. It was to be 41 feet by 51 feet, one story high with a tower and bell, and it was to cost about $1700. The Senecas had just sold a portion of their reservations and seemingly money was easily had for on August 19, 1829, it was dedicated. The following year Mr. Harris left his work and no permanent missionary was assigned until the following year.

A result of the growth of the church and of the gradual leanings of the Senecas toward Christianity was a split in the body of Senecas, one party being composed of those who were Christians or who were under Christian influences, headed by Captain Pollard and Seneca White. The other was composed of those who opposed Christianity, and who were either followers of Handsome Lake, or adherents of the ancient religion. This party was dominated at first and for many years by Red Jacket, and after his death in 1830, it seems to have been led by Big Kettle. In any conference in which the Senecas took part, these two parties opposed each other, especially in questions regarding the sale of lands. In the attempts of Mr. Ogden to purchase lands, the Pagan party always squarely opposed and the Christian party mainly sanctioned the sale of the reservations. This feeling still seems apparent. On all question regarding dividing the reservation lands and taking fee, or of holding them as at present in common, the Pagan party still stands out for holding in common, while most of the Christians seem willing to divide their lands and possess a holding in individual right.

This split in the Seneca Nation became so serious and the Christian party so strong that it was decided to oust Red Jacket from his chieftainship. In September,

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1827, the year after the sale of the "mile-strip" of the Buffalo Creek Reservation, he was deposed by the chiefs at a council in the Seneca Council House. The reasons for his deposition as fully set forth in a document written in the Seneca language, were that he was opposed to the progress of his people, that he stirred up dissensions, and was in many ways definitely set down inimical to the best interests of his nation. Amongst the chiefs signing this document were Young King, Pollard, Seneca White, Strong and Little Beard. At a meeting called later in the year he was re-instated but he never resumed his dominating position.

On November 9, 1831, the Rev. Asher Wright assumed charge of the mission at the Seneca station. For two years he occupied the house wherein his predecessor had lived, but at the end of that time he moved into a new mission-house which had been erected seemingly very near the old one. During the early days of his charge he seems to have had general oversight over schools which had been opened at Jack Berry's town and at the Onondaga village.

Mr. Wright was a natural linguist and he soon became so proficient in the use of the Seneca language that he was enabled to preach to his Seneca charges in their own tongue. Very soon after his arrival he began publishing, using a system of orthography which he had devised to represent the sounds of the Seneca language. His first book was a "Beginning Book," a primer published in Boston in 1836. In 1844 he procured a hand-press and equipped it with type specially cast to meet the exigencies of the Seneca language. This he set up at the mission. His first publication from his own press was a small periodical, *The Mental Elevator,* which appeared at irregular intervals until after the Senecas had removed from Buffalo Creek. "A Spelling Book in the Seneca Language

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with English Definitions" was issued in 1842, followed a year later by a Seneca hymn book revised from Mr. Harris's book. The next year Mr. Wright published certain parts of the Revised Statutes which related to gambling, profanity and disturbing the peace.

Mr. Wright and his wife were thoroughly earnest Christian workers and they were teachers of a high order. That they succeeded in winning over a large part of the Senecas is made evident by the fact that when the Indians removed from Buffalo Creek the Wrights accompanied them to Cattaraugus where they labored with them until their deaths.

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CHAPTER XVI.

MINOR LAND SALES.

The two decades following the formation of the Buffalo Creek Reservation were in the main uneventful for the Senecas domiciled thereon. The second war with Great Britain was fought during this period, and although this was of little interest to the Senecas, they were active in some of the fighting. Mainly, however, it was a period of quiet, of a gradual and peaceful sale of small outlying and segregated lands, and of the removal of their inhabitants to the Buffalo Creek and other larger centers. During this period they also saw the beginning and sturdy growth of the village of Buffalo upon their borders.

For some time trouble had been threatening about a tract of land which had just been purchased by Pennsylvania and which was best known as the Presqu'isle tract. Basing a claim upon a charter from the English King similar in every way to that of Massachusetts, Connecticut had set up a claim to a narrow strip of land beyond the western boundary of Pennsylvania. In 1786 Connecticut ceded this land to the United States, reserving a small portion for itself. Much of the land ceded lay along Lake Erie, and as Pennsylvania had at that time no lake port and appreciated to the full the advantages to be derived from one, that state purchased from the United States in 1788 a triangular tract of land which extended from its northwestern boundary to Lake Erie. This was a portion of the Connecticut tract and was important because it contained the excellent harbor of Presqu'isle (Erie) and also the main portage

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road across the divide from Lake Erie to the Ohio River.

This tract lay west of the boundary of the lands of the Six Nations laid down in the treaty at Fort Stanwix, and it also lay west of, though contiguous to, the boundary of the Indian lands as laid down in the treaty at Canandaigua in 1794. There seems, then, to have been no ground for any claim by the Six Nations upon this tract.

In 1789, however, Pennsylvania extinguished any possible Indian title to this land through a conveyance signed by representatives of the Six Nations. Amongst the Seneca signers were Cornplanter and Big Tree. No Mohawks signed however, and these as well as the Senecas considered the sale invalid.

In February of 1794 this sale was considered at a council at Buffalo Creek at which both Red Jacket and Brant spoke. At a later meeting, in June of the same year, Cornplanter, who had been instrumental in selling this land complained that settlers from Pennsylvania were encroaching upon the tract. The chiefs decided to send a delegation to Presqu'isle to request the removal of the settlers, and they invited their Indian Agent, General Chapin, to accompany them. He came to Buffalo accompanied by his secretary, Samuel Colt, and by Horatio Jones, an interpreter, and in company with several chiefs from Buffalo Creek and by William Johnston, they journeyed to Presqu'isle and so on to LeBoeuf at the southern end of the portage road. So satisfied was General Chapin that their claims were just that he ordered Mr. Ellicott who was surveying the land, to stop work.

Two years later, in 1796, Mr. Porter was made superintendent of a survey of the Connecticut Reserve in Ohio. He outfitted at Canandaigua and started for Presqu'isle by way of Buffalo Creek. When he arrived here his party was met by Brant, Red Jacket and Farmer's Brother, with a large following who presented their

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claim on the tract comprised in the Connecticut Reserve. He assembled the chiefs in council and the whole matter was deliberated upon. He finally distributed presents to the value of $2,000 and the Indians declared their claim satisfied.

The first settlers to attempt the difficult journey through New York to the Presqu'isle Tract were Hinds Chamberlain and Jesse Beach, who in 1798 reached Buffalo Creek on their way to LeBoeuf. They came on sleds drawn by two yoke of oxen and had been obliged to break out much of the roads themselves. When the Senecas learned that their purpose was to settle on this tract, they were highly indignant that these whites presumed to enter their lands. A gift of two gallons of whiskey and some tobacco appeased them however, and the travelers were permitted to proceed.

Four years later, 1802, the Senecas changed the form of their reservation on the Cattaraugus Creek.

In the original deed to Robert Morris the Cattaraugus Reservation was so laid out that it lay along the shore of Lake Erie from Eighteen Mile Creek (Koghguaga) to Canadaway Creek (Conondauwea) beyond Dunkirk. From this mile strip two tracts extended, one up the Cattaraugus Valley, the other up Canadaway Creek. This seems to have been mutually unsatisfactory, for apparently without any objection on the part of the Senecas, they exchanged this for a reservation with a small lake frontage at the mouth of Cattaraugus Creek and a long extension up the valley of this stream. In the exchange the Holland Company was careful to retain the pre-emptive right over the land thus reserved.

In the same year, 1802, the Senecas sold to the State of New York a very desirable tract of land lying along the Niagara River. It will be remembered that although the western boundary of the Indian lands in New York

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was established in 1784 as being four miles east of the Niagara River from Lake Ontario to the mouth of Buffalo Creek, the treaty of 1794 changed this by running the line to Steadman's Creek just above the Falls, and thence along the river to its head. The western boundary of New York laid down in the compromise with Massachusetts was to be one mile east of the river to Lake Erie. The tract left from Steadman's Creek to the mouth of Buffalo Creek was thus left in the possession of the Senecas. New York purchased this tract from the Senecas in 1802, with certain reservations however. They were to retain the right to fish and camp on the banks of the river, and to gather driftwood. In the treaty New York stipulated that two tracts, each a mile square, north of Scajaquada Creek were to be granted, one to Jasper Parrish, the other to Horatio Jones.

In 1803 the sale of lands resulted in the deposition at Buffalo Creek of one of the most prominent chiefs of the Six Nations, Joseph Brant. In 1799 Brant became involved in a controversy between the Caughnawaga branch of the Mohawks and the State of New York regarding the sale of a certain parcel of land extending from the Mohawk River to Pennsylvania which John Livingston had purchased from the Six Nations two years before. Brant had signed the deed as a witness, and later the Caughnawagas accused him of selling their lands and pocketing the proceeds. Later when he was instrumental in acquiring for the Six Nations the tract of land on the Grand River now known as the Grand River Reservation, the Senecas accused him of having received personal emoluments from the English, and they also claimed a portion of these Grand River lands. His conduct was considered at a council of the Six Nations held at Buffalo Creek in 1803, probably in the council house of the Onondagas on Cazenovia Creek, for they

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were the only nation privileged to call a meeting of the Confederates. The leaders of the Senecas were Farmer's Brother and Red Jacket.

As a result of the deliberations Brant was formally deposed as a chief of the Six Nations, together with all the other Mohawk chiefs, and all his actions in connection with the Grand River lands were disavowed. Brant and the Mohawks naturally claimed that this action at the council was illegal. They claimed that the council fire of the League had been regularly removed to the Grand River where the main body of Onondagas was established, and that it was only there that any national business could be transacted. That this had been done was denied by the nations on Buffalo Creek and certainly there seems to be a good deal of doubt that this had been done. Certainly all national affairs had been transacted at Buffalo Creek for many years, and a considerable body of Onondagas still resided at Buffalo Creek, and in these were vested the right to convene a council.

Mr. Stone in his life of Brant is inclined to think that the deposition was purely the result of intrigue instigated by Red Jacket. There never was any doubt that the two were enemies. Brant had publicly expressed his contempt of Red Jacket as a warrior and had often accused him of cowardice. Brant laid the blame upon the Indian Agent, Mr. Claus, who he says stirred up the Senecas to protest against Brant's action in the Grand River land deal. He attempted to clear himself in a letter to the Duke of Northumberland by saying that a few common people had gone to Buffalo Creek to attend a council there and had met Claus at Niagara and had at his instigation signed a protest to be sent to England.[1]

In 1803 there was consummated at Buffalo Creek the first sale of the small reservations. At a council of Sen-

1 Stone's Life of Brant, II, 417.

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eca chiefs presided over by John Tayler, a commissioner appointed by the United States, Joseph Ellicott purchased for the Holland Company the reservation on the Genesee surrounding the village of Little Beard.

When in 1786 New York and Massachusetts had by compromise settled their dispute about their conflicting land claims, New York had ceded to Massachusetts the pre-emptive right to all Indian lands. This was no more than the sole right to purchase the lands from their Indian owners. Massachusetts purchased no land, but it sold this pre-emptive right to Robert Morris who purchased such lands as the Senecas would sell, and still retained the sole right to purchase all their remaining lands. He deeded the lands of western New York thus acquired to the Holland Company and with them the pre-emptive right to the lands remaining, these being the reservations. The Holland Company did not purchase these reservations but it still retained the pre-emptive right, the sole right to purchase them and it was "lawfully authorized to sell the pre-emptive rights to the reserved tracts."

In 1810 the first steps were made to acquire title to the large reservations. As a preliminary the Holland Company conveyed to David A. Ogden the reservations at Cattaraugus, Buffalo Creek, Allegheny River, Tonawanda Creek, Caneadea and Lewiston, in all, about 196335 acres at fifty cents per acre, "subject to the right of the native Indians, and not otherwise." In other words Mr. Ogden at an expense of $98,167.50 acquired the right to purchase from the Senecas 196,335 acres of land comprising their reservations in New York.

The pre-emptive right thus transferred to Mr. Ogden was not considered to include the right to purchase the islands in Niagara River. When the boundary line between the United States and the provinces of Great Britain was defined the line was to run in the middle of

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the principal branch of the Niagara and it would seem that enough doubt attached to the ownership of the islands to cause them to be omitted in the treaties of 1784 and 1794. The Senecas always claimed them in spite of the fact that they were definitely west of their western boundary.

It will be remembered that in 1768 in a treaty with Sir William Johnson, the Six Nations ceded to him a tract four miles wide on each side of the Niagara. Nothing was said about the islands and they certainly still remained in the possession of the Six Nations and as these were contiguous to lands recognized as belonging to the Senecas, any claim upon them by the Senecas would be considered valid.

In 1784 the Six Nations ceded to the United States all their lands west of a line drawn four miles east of the Niagara. According to this the sovereignty over these islands would have passed to the United States and from it to New York. In 1794 the western boundary of the Senecas' land was established at this four mile line only as far as Fort Schlosser, thence along the river and Lake Erie to the Pennsylvania line. The Seneca claim apparently rested upon the assumption that 'along the river' meant along the middle of the river, which included the islands, excepting Navy Island, in their territory.

As the Morris purchase from Massachusetts in 1791 included only the lands then owned by the Senecas, it naturally did not include the islands which were not at that time in the possession of the Senecas.

The Senecas never relinquished their claim to the islands, and this was recognized in 1812 by the people of western New York. Shortly after the second war with Great Britain was announced, a rumor reached Buffalo that Indians attached to the interest of Great Britain had established themselves on Grand Island. This so

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disturbed the Senecas that the chiefs consulted with their agent, Mr. Erastus Granger, as to their best course of action. Red Jacket voiced the claim of the Senecas to the island and asked permission to send warriors from Buffalo Creek to hold it. He shrewdly expressed his conviction that judging from past experiences, should the war end with Canadians on the islands, they would keep possession of them by right of conquest.

Immediately after the war, September 12, 1815, the Senecas sold all the islands, Grand, Squaw, Strawberry, Rattlesnake and Bird, for $1,000 and an annuity of $500 per year forever. The boundary was not finally established until 1819, when by measurements the principal branch of the river was decided to be on the west side of Grand Island, and that these islands were within the limits of the United States.

The first Buffalo newspaper was published in Buffalo in 1811 and very soon thereafter occasional notices began to appear emanating from the reservation. Several issues in May of 1812 bore the advertisement of a good canoe, then lying in Buffalo Creek, for sale by Twenty Canoes. Erastus Granger advertised the loss by theft or straying of a horse owned by an Indian named Jonas. In February, 1813, Mr. Jabez Hyde, missionary on the reservation, advertised that two horses had strayed upon the reservation and were then in the custody of Seneca White and James King.

When the Second War with Great Britain was declared there was much anxiety in western New York as to the attitude of the Senecas. Many were still alive who had suffered in the border wars of the Revolution and they appreciated to the full that on the reservation in their midst there were hundreds of fierce clansmen trained and eager for war. Should these choose actively to side with their ancient allies, the English, no one could doubt

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the effect upon the isolated settlements. Their only hope for safety was that the Senecas could be persuaded to side with the United States or at least remain neutral.

In July, 1812, soon after war was announced, Mr. Erastus Granger, the Indian Agent, met the Indian chiefs and in a long speech in which he presented the cause of the war, he urged that because of the justice and fairness which had marked the treatment of the Senecas by the United States, they should remain neutral in a war, the causes or outcome of which could in no wise affect them. He intimated, also, that if any of the young men might care to take up arms, they might enlist in the army which the United States was then raising, on equal rating and equal pay with the whites.

Red Jacket acted as spokesman of the Senecas. He admitted that justice had always characterized the dealings of the United States and that the Senecas had asserted their desire to be at peace. He assured Mr. Granger it was the intent of the Senecas to take no part in the war, and further that they would send a delegation to Canada where some of their clansmen were taking up arms for Great Britain, and endeavor to persuade them to remain neutral. He refused to consider allowing any Senecas to enlist. As a result of this a delegation of chiefs was sent to Canada. They had great difficulty in getting permission from the English commander to enter Canada, but were finally allowed a few minutes' conversation with a few of the Canadian Indians. They failed to influence them, and thereafter during the war the clansmen fought on opposite sides.

In September of 1812 at a meeting of the chiefs of the Six Nations at Onondaga, they decided to offer to aid the United States and on the same day 140 young men from the Allegheny Reservation came to Buffalo Creek where they encamped, danced a war dance in the streets

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of Buffalo, and offered to take up arms for home defence.

The neutrality which the chiefs had decided upon was found to be impracticable. Almost immediately after the war began, the Senecas at Buffalo Creek heard rumors that the Canadian Indians were occupying Grand Island. A meeting between the chiefs and Mr. Granger was arranged and Red Jacket asked permission to allow their young men to drive them off.

In the spring of 1813, the commander at Fort Niagara, a United States post, invited the Senecas to the fort, hoping to use them in persuading the Mohawks of the Grand River to refrain from war. Following his invitation a large number, 300 to 400, came to the fort armed for war and led by Farmer's Brother. As the Mohawks were determined to side actively with the English, the band of Senecas was enlisted into the service of the United States.

These enlisted Senecas seem to have had their first active participation in war on July 10, 1813, when the village of Buffalo was threatened by an English force. This had landed at Scajaquada Creek and taken the battery at Black Rock which was deserted by its occupants. When the alarm reached Buffalo Mr. Granger placed a guard of 40 Senecas under Farmer's Brother to guard his house. While the English force was destroying the battery and looting its few stores a force was collected in Buffalo made up of all the soldiers who would stand, seemingly supplementing these Senecas. This force attacked the English and drove them off.

At the battle of Chippewa in July, 1814, the Senecas did good service. They were led there by Captain Pollard and (so Lossing asserts) by Red Jacket.

From the close of the Revolution, most of the Six Nations seem to have fully appreciated that it would be difficult for them to maintain themselves permanently on

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their New York lands. The life to which they were accustomed demanded wide unpopulated lands, for only from these could they derive peltry, the sole commodity which they might use in exchange for the necessities of life for which they now depended entirely upon the white men. Their lands in New York were restricted to such a degree, and so rapidly were the surrounding tracts being settled, that it could be but a short time until they must abandon this mode of life and either assume that of the white people or perish.

The acquisition by the United States of immense tracts of land west of the Mississippi aroused in the Six Nations a desire to find there new homes, where surrounded by vast tracts of wild land, they might continue to live in their ancient manner. This desire was expressed in 1810 when they sent the President a communication inquiring about the possibility of acquiring lands in the West.

As a result of this inquiry the Government acquired from the Menominees of Wisconsin a tract of land at Green Bay, comprising 500,000 acres of land. This purchase was consummated in 1831 and the land was secured to the Six Nations. The next year the Six Nations gave their assent to this purchase and settlement, and during the next three years, part of the Six Nations, the Oneidas, relinquished their New York lands and removed to the Green Bay tract.

Most of the remaining nations, however, refused to emigrate thither, and intimated a desire to exchange these Green Bay lands for larger tracts in the Indian Territory, and the President, prompted probably by the constantly growing demand for the New York lands, as well, perhaps, by a desire to settle for all time the demands of these clamorous clansmen, was willing to comply with their wishes.

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One result of this feeling and desire on the part of the Six Nations was their willingness to sell their lands in New York. The Senecas accordingly, during the years in which the western land question was being debated began the sale of their lands, the first sales being of those already noticed, the Little Beard Reservation, the islands in the Niagara and the portage road.

In 1819 an effort was made by the Ogden Company to buy all the reservations except that at Allegheny. The Seneca chiefs were assembled at Buffalo, there being also present Hon. Morris Miller, commissioner appointed by the President, and Mr. Nathaniel Gorham, commissioner representing Massachusetts. At this meeting the two parties of Seneces were represented, the Christian by Captain Pollard, the Pagan by Red Jacket. The offer to purchase was voiced by Mr. Miller who presented also offers by the United States to cede to them lands in the West. Red Jacket in a strong and somewhat rude speech opposed the sale and his influence was such that the offer was rejected. Yet a minority of the chiefs, representing the Christians, assembled with Commissioner Morris and its spokesman, Pollard, deplored the seeming rudeness of Red Jacket's speech, and expressed his belief that the Senecas must soon change their condition.

Three years later the Senecas were again assembled at their village to consider selling their lands. Again Red Jacket opposed the sale and was supported by the council.

The first large sale was finally negotiated in 1826, and was consummated at a treaty held at Buffalo Creek in August of that year, between the "sachems, chiefs and warriors" and Robert Troup, Thomas L. Ogden and Benjamin W. Rogers. Mr. Oliver Forward was present as commissioner of the United States, as was Mr. Nathaniel Gorham, superintendent representing Massachusetts.

At this time, in consideration of $48,260, the Senecas

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conveyed to Mr. Troup and Mr. Ogden all the remaining small reservations, namely at Caneadea, Canawaugus, Big Tree, Squawky Hill, and Gardeau. With these they also conveyed three large reservations, at Buffalo Creek, Tonawanda Creek and Cattaraugus Creek, but with certain specified exemptions. In effect this was the sale of portions of each of these reservations. The portion thus exempted from the sale of the Buffalo Creek reservation is specified in the conveyance as follows:

Also all that other tract of land commonly called and known by the name of the Buffalo Creek Reservation situate lying and being in the said county of Erie and containing by estimation eighty three thousand five hundred and fifty seven (83,557) acres, excepting nevertheless and always reserving out of the said Buffalo Creek reservation the following tract, piece or parcel thereof that is to say, seventy-eight square miles or forty-nine thousand nine hundred and twenty (49,920) acres bounded as follows, that is to say: Beginning on the north line of the said reservation at a point one mile and a half east of the Cayuga Creek, running thence south one mile and a half; thence east parallel with the north line so far as that, a line to be drawn from the termination thereof south to a point one mile distant from the south line of the said reservation; and thence west parallel with the south line to the west line of the reservation, and thence along the west and north line of the same to the place of beginning will contain the said quantity of seventy-eight square miles or forty nine thousand nine hundred and twenty (49,920) acres.

The southern strip thus conveyed to Troup and Ogden lying between this line on the south and the Holland Company's tract has always been known as the "Mile Strip."

This treaty was signed by forty-seven Seneca chiefs, amongst them being Young King, Pollard, Little Billy, Cornplanter, Blacksnake, Silverheels, Big Kettle, Shongo, Red Jacket, and some others of local note. Horatio Jones and Jacob Jimeson acted as interpreters. Jasper Parrish was Indian Agent.

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Although the Senecas considered the sale valid at the time, delivered the lands, and received the purchase price, the validity of the transaction has since been disputed. The Senate never ratified this treaty, in accordance with the Constitutional provision regarding treaties, nor did the President proclaim it. Because of these two omissions the Senecas in later years claimed that the treaty was invalidated, and as a test case they brought action against one Christy, occupying a portion of the Cattaraugus Reservation conveyed in this treaty.

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CHAPTER XVII.

SALE OF THE BUFFALO CREEK RESERVATION.

These sales left the Senecas but relatively small reservations, one at Buffalo Creek a portion of that originally reserved; one at Tonawanda and one at Cattaraugus, each a portion only of the original reservations; the Allegheny Reservation and the square mile at the Oil Spring. There was, however, at this time and during the succeeding few years, the expectation that these must also be relinquished and that the nation must emigrate to Wisconsin.

When the lands at Green Bay were finally secured to the Six Nations, the Senecas were foremost in refusing to remove thither. At the expiration of three years, during which the removal was to have been completed, they united with the Cayugas and Onondagas in requesting that such of the Green Bay lands as should have been alloted to them be exchanged for lands in the Indian Territory. If this were done they could then sell their New York holdings and emigrate. In compliance with this desire, a treaty was negotiated at Buffalo Creek in 1838 by which lands were secured to the Indians and at the same time their New York lands were sold. The events following the negotiation of this treaty were extremely exciting.

The treaty of January, 1838, recites in detail that the Six Nations became convinced soon after the Revolution that eventually they must migrate to the West, and that at a general council of the Six Nations in 1810 a memorial was sent to the President asking for information regarding title to any lands which they might acquire there.

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Further, that land was acquired at Green Bay, and that final settlement was made by the United States with the Indian owners in 1831, a settlement to which the Six Nations gave assent in 1832. By this settlement 500,000 acres of land were secured to the Six Nations, and to the St. Regis Indians, on condition that they remove, and had intimated a desire to remove, to the Indian Territory. These had applied to the President to exchange their lands at Green Bay for lands in Indian Territory. The reason for the treaty is said to be the President's desire to comply with the wishes of the Six Nations.

In the treaty the Six Nations ceded to the United States all those lands at Green Bay excepting a tract then occupied by Indians of the Six Nations, that is those who had already removed thence.

In consideration of this cession the United States agreed to set apart for the Six Nations a tract of land comprising 1,825,000 acres, adjoining lands already ceded to the Cherokees, Miamis, and Osages. This was to be divided amongst all the Indians of New York State and to this tract they must remove within five years or forfeit all rights to it.

Of this tract the Senecas were allotted the eastern portion, to include 320 acres of land for each soul of the Senecas.

The treaty specifically recites that the Senecas have at this time sold lands to Thomas L. Ogden and Joseph Fellows, for a consideration of $202,000. Of this, $100,000 were to be invested for the Seneca Nation by the President. The remaining $102,000 were to be paid to the owners of improvements upon the lands in a manner specifically stated.

Further, the United States bound itself to acquire and give the Six Nations a portion of the Cherokee territory, to transport them to their new homes, to erect schools,

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churches and council houses, and further to appropriate $30,000, the income from which would be used to maintain a literary institution amongst them.

When the treaty came before the Senate this amended it by striking out all these latter provisions and inserting one to appropriate $400,000 to aid in transporting the Indians to their new homes, support them during their first year, erect mills and houses, buy farm animals and tools and to encourage education. With this amendment the treaty was ratified by the Senate, but with the stipulation that before it became binding it must be submitted and fully and fairly explained by a commissioner of the United States to each of such tribes or bands, separately assembled in council, who must give their full and voluntary consent thereto.

During the summer of 1838 the United States Commissioner, Ransom H. Gillett, visited the various Indians in order to secure their assent to this amended treaty. All ratified except the Senecas. In August he came to Buffalo to obtain the assent of the Senecas. With him was General Dearborn, the commissioner of Massachusetts. The latter gentleman kept a journal which is most illuminating.

Active opposition by a large part of the Senecas had already developed before the arrival of the commissioner. The meeting was to have been held in the council-house, but the chiefs were averse to this and would not allow the meeting to be held there. Judge Stryker, the local Indian Agent, erected a large temporary building in which to hold the meeting, but the night before the meeting it was burned, and it was the opinion of many that it had been set on fire by some one of the party opposed to the treaty. Lacking permission to use the council-house, the meeting was held in a grove adjoining their settlement, east of "Allen's tavern."

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Of all the personages representing the diverse interests at this meeting a few stand out prominently. Of these, Ransom H. Gillett was one. He was the commissioner who according to the terms of the treaty was to submit it to the nations and "fully and fairly" explain it. He presided at the meetings and performed his duty in a forceful, intelligent manner. General Henry A. S. Dearborn was a commissioner appointed by the Governor of Massachusetts to be present at the negotiations. As these involved a transfer of lands, it was necessary, according to the provisions of the New York-Massachusetts agreement in 1786, that a Massachusetts commissioner be present. Of all the persons present, he might be expected to be most disinterested as his sole duty was to signify his approval of the sale should there be one. As a matter of fact he interested himself on behalf of the Indians to such an extent that he gained the respect of both the opposing Seneca parties.

Of these two parties, one opposed the treaty, and was identical with the Pagan party formerly led by Red Jacket. He had died in 1830 and the present leader was Big Kettle. He seems to have been the same that once lived on the Squawky Hill Reservation on the Genesee, or his son. He lived at the eastern extremity of the reservation at East Elma where he had large holdings of land seemingly well improved. He, with the brothers Seneca White and White Seneca, were instrumental in having a saw-mill built at East Elma to which he and others could sell timber. With him in the opposition was Israel Jimierson (Jimerson?) whose violent and uncontrolled actions in the meeting threatened to break it up in riot. Supporting these two were two Buffalo millers, Grosvenor and Heacock. They had leased a right of way for a feed canal from the fork of Buffalo and Cayuga Creeks at the present eastern city line, to their mills on

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the present Hydraulic street. Not only was their valuable lease in danger through the sale, but the Indians were heavily in debt to them, and a removal might result in this loss also. Both proved very obnoxious to the two commissioners.

In favor of the treaty there were several chiefs, the most prominent though least active being Pollard; the most active perhaps, Seneca White, a Christian Indian living near East Elma. These and others of the two factions carried on a bitter fight for weeks, from August 20th until October 2d.

The business preliminary to the treaty was speedily transacted. Mr. Gillett stated the object of the meeting and General Dearborn explained his presence there. The next three days were occupied in explaining the articles of the treaty. On August 24th this explanation was concluded, and for several days the Indians deliberated. Finally, each party chose six chiefs, who were to deliberate and report.

They seemed unable to come to a decision, for the commissioners again explained the articles of the treaty, concluding on September 4th.

At this time Big Kettle made a speech opposing giving assent. He was answered by Seneca White. The following day Big Kettle and others spoke, and the council was adjourned so that the Indians could celebrate their Corn Feast.

After the Corn Feast the council met once more and on the several days following there was a general debate amongst the Indians. By September 10th feeling ran high. Several whites, amongst them Mr. Grosvenor, were very active in attempts to induce the chiefs to refuse their assent. After a long speech by Commissioner Gillett in which he brought out several errors in the statements made in debate Big Kettle and an Indian named

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Johnson said that he talked too much and that unless the council were ended at once they would go home. Mr. Grosvenor also spoke correcting what he said were false statements made by Mr. Gillett, who at once, amid great excitement, defended his statements. General Dearborn then made a tactful conciliatory speech and the council adjourned quietly. That night an attempt—the third—was made to burn the council-house.

The following day both commissioners laid before the Indians the necessity of ratifying the treaty, giving as an opinion that should they not do so the conveyance of their lands would still be binding, and without the western lands acquired by the treaty, they would be homeless.

On September 14th the ill feeling culminated in a disturbance which bid fair to end in murder. An Indian named Bennett had been maligned the day before by Israel Jimenson (Jimerson?) and spoke in his own defence. A chief named Pierce became turbulent and so insolent that Commissioner Gillett threatened to exclude him. Captain Pollard, called upon to announce the practices in council, was assaulted by Jimenson. Big Kettle seized Seneca White, and Jimenson then throttled the interpreter, Strong. Others raised a war-whoop and the whole assembly rushed threateningly forward to the two commissioners. Order was finally achieved and the meeting broke up.

That evening Strong swore out a warrant against Jimenson and the sheriff was called upon to provide officers to keep the peace.

For four days there was no meeting. Big Kettle and others uttered numerous threats against the commissioners and others. Jimenson was brought before Justice Barton on a charge of assault, and the justice discharged him, much to the disgust of the commissioners, who now

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made arrangements to have a military guard of United States troops if necessary.

Three days later the meeting then called in the council-house was again in a turmoil, through utterances of Maris Bryant Pierce and Mr. Heacock. The commissioners ordered the sheriff to put Heacock out. There was an altercation in which Big Kettle told the commissioners that if the council were not ended in a week the Indians would carry them off the reservation bundled up like sacks. Eventually Heacock was put out, order was restored and the council adjourned.

In consequence of a conversation with Mr. Heacock later General Dearborn recommended as conciliatory measures that the Ogden Company be obligated to pay all debts of the Indians and to give any Indian who desired it a lease for life of the lot on which he lived, should he not wish to remove.

On September 28th after these recommendations had been debated at length and accepted, the treaty was presented for signature. Sixteen chiefs signed. After adjournment a large number remained and 64 chiefs signed a dissent to the treaty in the presence of General Dearborn, who certified to this effect. On October 2d, the council adjourned till November 15th.

On November 15th the commissioners returned to Buffalo where, at a hotel, other chiefs signed. It was not until December 26th that negotiations closed. "Thanks to the Lord!" wrote General Dearborn.

His sigh of relief was premature, however. The treaty with its signatures of 41 alleged chiefs was transmitted to the President for his approval. So doubtful was he of its validity that he submitted it to the Senate as it stood and asked the advice of that body. The Senate was also dubious and recommended only that as soon as the President should be satisfied that the assent of the Sene-

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cas had been given he should proclaim the treaty. He decided that the only way to satisfy himself about it was to send some disinterested person to investigate the circumstances, and selected for this purpose the Secretary of War, Mr. Poinsett, whom he ordered to visit the Senecas on the Cattaraugus Reservation and obtain from them a first hand account of their feelings.

After a weary journey Mr. Poinsett arrived at Buffalo where he found awaiting him a number of interested persons, including General Dearborn. They secured passage on a steamer to Cattaraugus Creek, and put up for the night at Irving. The following day, August 13, 1839, they drove six miles up the Cattaraugus Valley to the Seneca Council-House, where they called a meeting of chiefs. Here they heard a number of speakers both for and against the treaty and the following day left Irving with a promise to report the feeling of the Senecas to the President.

With this scanty and incomplete report before him the President on January 14, 1840, transmitted the treaty with a message in which he said: "No advance towards obtaining the assent of the Senecas to the amended treaty, in council, was made,—nor can a majority of them in council be now obtained." However, on March 25, 1840, the Senate ratified the treaty, and on April 4, 1840, the President proclaimed it.

Immediately after the proclamation of the obnoxious treaty the Senecas began agitation to have it annulled. In their efforts they were aided materially by several Societies of Friends who had followed the course of the treaty closely and with deep interest. They had had representatives at the meeting at Cattaraugus in 1839 and had assured themselves that the manner of securing the signatures of the chiefs was fraudulent. Therefore "at a meeting of the Committees of the Four Yearly

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Meetings of Genesee, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, on the concern of those meetings for the welfare of the Indian natives of our country, held at Cherry Street meeting-house in the City of Philadelphia Fourth month 7th, 1840, it was agreed to prepare a statement of facts for the information of our own members, in relation to the circumstances of the Seneca Indians in the State of New York."

The Quakers, having been satisfied that the Senecas had been defrauded, sent a memorial to the President showing him by affidavits that several signatures to the treaty alleged to be those of chiefs were in reality not those of chiefs, and further, that without these a majority of chiefs had not signed. Later they sent a memorial to the Senate showing that although the Senate had explicitly instructed the commissioner to obtain the signatures openly in council, he had failed to do this, and that most of those signing had done so secretly in a hotel in Buffalo. A committee of Friends was appointed to wait upon the Governor of Massachusetts protesting against the treaty and urging that he disapprove it. The Senecas also sent a memorial to the President vigorously protesting against the treaty and refused to remove from the lands or relinquish them.

The Quakers further obtained an opinion from able lawyers, most prominent of whom was Daniel Webster, regarding the legality of the treaty. All agreed that as the treaty had been ratified and proclaimed it would be considered valid by the courts. Mr. Webster however suggested that a compromise might be effected with advantage to both parties. The Quakers then took the matter of a compromise to the Secretary of War, who suggested to Mr. Ogden, the trustee of the Ogden Company, that in view of the disputes regarding the title with consequent possible litigation and difficulty of taking pos-

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session a compromise might be arranged which might be mutually satisfactory. Mr. Ogden finally agreed to make some concessions, and arrangements were made to negotiate a new treaty. The President appointed Mr. Ambrose Spencer a commissioner, with power to call a meeting at Buffalo Creek to effect a settlement. He assembled the Seneca chiefs at Buffalo and in a very short time negotiated a treaty May 20, 1842, by which the Senecas renounced their claims to the Buffalo Creek and Tonawanda Creek Reservations; and the Ogden Company, to whom the lands had been deeded in 1838, released to the Indians the Allegheny and the Cattaraugus Reservations, reserving however their pre-emption right to both.

One article of this treaty provided for a board of two members, one to be appointed by the Secretary of War, the other by the Ogden Company, whose duty it should be to ascertain the value of the improved and unimproved lands on the tracts sold. It provided further that surveyors be appointed to make a true and complete report, a copy of which was to be filed with the Secretary of War and one with the Ogden Company. The unimproved lands were to pass into the possession of the company within a month after the report of the board had been filed and the improved property within two years.

The treaty recites that "questions and differences having arisen between the chiefs and headmen of the Senecas and Ogden and Fellows in relation to said indenture of 1838, and the rights and provisions contained in it not having been executed, the said parties have mutually agreed to settle compromise and finally terminate all such questions and differences. . . .

"I. The Senecas may continue in the occupation of the Cattaraugus and Allegheny Reservations with the same right and title in all things as they had and possessed therein immediately before the date of the said indenture,

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saving and reserving to the said Ogden and Fellows the right of pre-emption and all other the right and title which they then had or held. . . ."

The treaty further recited that the Senecas confirmed to Ogden and Fellows the Buffalo Creek and Tonawanda Reservations.

To set a value upon the lands thus sold it was provided in the treaty that Ogden and Fellows should pay to the Seneca Nation "such proportion of the original sum of $202,000 as the value of all lands within the said two tracts called the Buffalo Creek and Tonawanda Reservations shall bear to the value of all the lands within all the said four tracts and of the said sum of one hundred and two thousand dollars the said Ogden and Fellows shall pay such proportion as the value of the improvements on the same two tracts shall bear to the value of the improvements on all the said four tracts."

The amount of money to be paid was to be decided by two arbitrators, one to be appointed by the Secretary of War, the other by Ogden and Fellows. These were to appoint "suitable surveyors to explore, examine and report on the value of the said lands and improvements." The arbitrators were to award to each individual Indian the value of his improvements.

Acting upon these terms the Secretary of War appointed Thomas C. Love, and Ogden and Fellows appointed Ira Cook, as the two arbitrators. These employed "suitable surveyors" who examined and reported upon three of the four tracts, namely the Buffalo Creek, Cattaraugus and Allegheny Reservations. Their report dated March 26, 1844, showed the acreage of the Buffalo Creek Reservation to be 49,920 acres; and contained a detailed report of all buildings and farm improvements belonging to the Senecas on all the reservations but the Tonawanda. This latter appears without details. It showed that they had

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adjudged that Ogden and Fellows should pay for the lands on the Buffalo Creek and Tonawanda Reservations the sum of seventy-five thousand dollars; and for the improvements on these the sum of $58,768.

The report dwells upon the fact that the arbitrators were forcibly prevented by the Senecas on the Tonawanda from surveying or examining their lands, which accounts for the lack of a detailed report on that reservation. They had visited the Tonawanda twice and had met a majority of the Senecas there in council. At both councils the Indians "with unanimous voice and action absolutely and unconditionally refused to permit" them to examine any part of the reservation; and on the occasion of the second council they were "each taken by the arm by a chief and accompanied by him and warriors off the said reservation." Their report of the extent and value of the improvements on the Tonawanda is therefore an estimate only. Seemingly the Tonawanda Senecas did not want to be examined.

The amounts awarded to some of the Indians are interesting. Big Kettle had evidently died before the award was made, for his widow is credited with 35 acres of land, with two houses worth together $55, and she was awarded $225.01. Big Kettle's sister had 18 acres of land with a house worth $30 and a barn worth $4, and was awarded $122.29. Jacob Big Kettle, evidently a son, with 22 acres and a house, received $161.99. A saw-mill owned by the chiefs, probably that at East Elma, was valued at $300. Jack Berry's widow, for three acres of land and a house received $26. John Jacket, probably the son of Red Jacket, received $408.72. Tom Jamison, "Buffalo Tom," received $2,609.03 for 179 acres. This lay at the junction of the present Seneca and Elk streets, and included rich farming lands, well cultivated, on both sides of Buffalo Creek. The Seneca Nation received for one house, prob-

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ably the council-house, $75 and for their church the sum of $683.90. Pollard's widow, and George Fox, with 56 acres, a house and barn, received $915.01. John Seneca's saw-mill with 83 acres of land, brought him $1432.83, but Seneca White's mill with house and barn brought only $354.01. For 160 acres of creek land on Seneca street just beyond the present city line, with four houses, three barns and an orchard of 92 trees, Moses Stevenson received $1623.39. For 25 acres of creek land on Abbott Road near the present Cazenovia Park with two houses, Silverheels received $174.85. George Wheelbarrow, who lived on Abbott Road at the present Woodside avenue, received $428.03 for 63 acres with three houses, a cheap barn and an orchard. The Buffalo Creek chiefs fared badly as compared with those at Cattaraugus. They received only $217.10, for their holdings including a saw-mill, but the Cattaraugus chiefs divided $1445.85.

Immediately after the awards were made the Senecas began to relinquish their lands and to seek new homes on the Cattaraugus and Allegheny Reservations. These were common property of the entire Seneca Nation and were consequently as much the property of these now homeless immigrants as of those who had occupied them for generations. All that was necessary was that the chiefs should allot the newcomers land to live upon. Naturally all the more fertile portions had been already occupied, consequently most of those from Buffalo Creek were allotted the unoccupied, and therefore poorer, land on the hills at the northeastern edge of the Cattaraugus Reservation. Some, perhaps because of their money derived from their holdings at Buffalo Creek, the Jamisons, Silverheels, Stevensons and Whites, and others, acquired farms in the bottoms along Clear and Cattaraugus Creeks.

Not all the landholding Senecas at Buffalo Creek re-

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moved, however. Of these, two were Thomas Jamison and Moses Stevenson. Both these were evidently excellent farmers and were prosperous, for Jamison had been awarded $2609.03 for his improvements, and Stevenson $1623.39, both large sums for that time. They continued to live on their farms for some years. They sent their children to the public schools which were soon established, and conducted themselves exactly as did their white neighbors. A few people still remember their school days in which the Stevenson and Jamison children were figures. Mr. Richards, still living on Seneca street, can recall his youth when he worked as a farm laborer for Tom Jamison. Mr. Stevenson's house still stands a little south of Seneca street just beyond the city line. Some old apple trees but lately killed and removed, marked the Jamison orchard and barnyard, on Keppel street, and a house once occupied by his son, Chauncey, still stands on Elk street near Bailey avenue.

For many years parties of these expatriated Senecas returned frequently to Buffalo and Cazenovia Creeks. Many came in spring to fish, and the writer can remember frequent parties of Indians in wagons, with fish spears and camp supplies, camping on the banks of Cazenovia Creek within the city limits. Other parties returned annually for many years to visit the graves of their dead at the various villages, and it is less than ten years ago that individual Senecas from Cattaraugus have discontinued visiting the cemetery at East Elma. Farmers now resident in East Elma can remember occasional fishing parties and basket-making camps along Buffalo Creek near that village.

Immediately after the removal of the Indians the reservation was thrown open to settlers and was quickly taken up. Some was taken up in large parcels by speculators like the Wadsworths of Geneseo. A large tract

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was purchased by a colony of Germans, who established themselves here in an attempt to live communally. This was known locally as the Ebenezer Community, which built up the present villages of Ebenezer, Gardenville and Blossom. With these German communists came other Germans who bought heavily of the fertile lands of West Seneca and Cheektowaga. Most of the remainder of the reservation was cut up into smaller holdings which were quickly bought by individual purchasers. Some of these at first made their homes in abandoned Indian cabins. One estimable lady of the writer's acquaintance was born here in an Indian log-cabin on land which her father had just bought. In fact, all the buildings left by the Indians were used for one purpose or another. The Indian church, the most pretentious building on the reservation, in time was used as a barn, and it was so used until so recently that most of the older people of South Buffalo can remember it. The Seneca council-house which stood about a hundred yards north of the corner of Littell and Archer streets became a dwelling house. The rough crooked road running to the Seneca village became the Aurora plank road. Saw-mills sprang up and consumed the shadowy forests like fire, leaving the fertile lands available for farms. Crops waved where the red hunter had pursued the deer. The Indian huts gave place to the frame homes of the white farmer and presently disappeared. Only in the memories of the older people remained the Buffalo Creek Reservation.

END.

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